

# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XX

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# THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XX

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## THE WELFARE MAP OF EUROPE

W. HARDY WICKWAR

THE differences among the social welfare systems of Continental Europe are noticeable, far-reaching, and instructive. Yet they are not haphazard differences. There is sense in them. They fall into a pattern or, rather, a series of patterns. Continental Europe may have some two dozen countries, but it does not have anything like two dozen different welfare systems.

The organizational differences between the systems are regional ones. They do not arise from goodness and badness, progress or retardation, but are part of the whole institutional pattern of the region as it has been determined by history.

During the years between the two most recent world wars, much of the attention of social reformers was given to the development of the great income-transfer services of social insurance and social assistance. The impact of these developing services on the national budget and the national economy of all countries of the world was so great that at governmental request the International Labor Organization gave considerable study to these two "approaches to social security." At the same time, however, and outside the scope of study of the International Labor Organization, there existed a steadily widening range of

community services designed to meet the needs of persons and families on an individualized case-by-case basis; and, in order to operate these services more effectively, steps were taken toward the formation of a social-work profession. The development of impersonal income-security services, which has been one of the greatest triumphs of the past generation, so far from destroying the need for a more personal approach to social welfare, increased the possible effectiveness of case-by-case methods. In an attempt to delineate the welfare regions of Continental Europe, four aspects of community service—local general relief, child welfare, medical assistance, and professional social work—are here singled out for special consideration.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most recent attempt at a comparative study of social welfare administration would appear to be R. Sand, *Le Service social à travers le monde* (Paris, 1931), supplemented to some extent by the same author's *L'Economie humaine* (Paris, 1941). Extensive collections of data are also available in the publications of the International Conference of Social Work (beginning 1928) and in International Labor Office, *International Survey of Social Services, 1930 and 1933* (Geneva, 1933 and 1936). On particular countries in addition to lawbooks and statistical yearbooks, the following general surveys in English or French have proved useful: F. Nemec, *From Social Welfare to Social Justice in Czechoslovakia* (London, 1943); Poland Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, *Politique sociale en Pologne* (Warsaw, 1936); R. Sand, *La Belgique sociale*; *Socialt Tidsskrift*, *Social Denmark*

## LOCAL GENERAL RELIEF

General relief by a locality on behalf of its local poor has nowhere in Europe been wholly superseded by nationally financed systems of social assistance and social insurance. Even in countries where new systems of pensions and allowances (*allocations*) have been financed by larger units, old forms of local relief (*secours*) have been retained. In some countries the newer state-financed forms of social assistance have been expressed as percentages of local relief scales and have been administered by the same local relief authorities. Moreover, in times of emergency such as the present, when national finances are easily shattered and the tides of war, inflation, and social change sweep over large classes of people who have not hitherto been brought within the scope of nationally financed social security measures, local systems of general relief regain their importance as a last line of defense against extreme privation. However much, therefore, a nation's social reformers might wish in more peaceful times to see the burden of providing for those who cannot fend for themselves transferred to broader-based authorities able to do a more adequate job, in times such as the present, one is impelled, in Europe, to pay more attention than at any time within the past generation to local general assistance.

From the point of view of general local assistance, Continental Europe falls broadly into four regions, which emerged between 400 and 150 years ago in the course of the many-sided social change in which serfdom declined, the bourgeoisie arose, and the Christian church was split into a number of national churches.

(Copenhagen, 1945); Society of St. Vincent de Paul, France, *Manuel pratique des lois sociales et ouvrières* (Paris, many editions); Sweden, *Social Work and Legislation* (Stockholm, 1936).

The new form given to poor relief was, in fact, in all European countries, one aspect of the reformation of religion, to so great an extent that the differences between the four basic systems of general local relief have tallied to a remarkable extent with the division of Europe into four religious spheres of influence, which might be roughly labeled the Lutheran, the Roman Catholic, the Calvinist, and the Orthodox.<sup>2</sup>

The north-central region consists of countries that took their religious reformation from Luther and Zwingli, along with those German states that came under the same influence in the days of the enlightened despots, although remaining within the Roman communion. Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and most Swiss cantons belong to this region. All have a long tradition of mandatory public assistance by local authorities to poor people who belong to their community. The relationship of the local community and its members is a two-sided one, in that the administrative responsibility of the community has its counterpart in the right of the individual who can, in theory at least, appeal to higher administrative authorities in order to have them compel the community to fulfil its obligations. The community usually has some landed property, such as forests and commons, hunting rights, and grazing rights, that can be leased out to its members; in most places its resources have been augmented by

<sup>2</sup> Besides the surveys mentioned above, more detailed studies of certain aspects of general relief have been published in: Czechoslovak Republic, "Assistance Publique en 1931," *Statistique tchécoslovaque*, CXII (Prague, 1935); H. Kraus, *Work Relief in Germany* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1934); F. Morstein Marx, "Germany," in W. Anderson, *Local Government in Europe* (New York, 1939); and reports of the Seine Département, Administration Générale de l'Assistance Publique.



the secularization of church lands carried through by evangelical burghers, Protestant princes, and enlightened despots; and this property has further been augmented during the generations, both by bequests and by rising land values. Income from property has been further supplemented and, to some extent, superseded, at first by morally obligatory collections and then, by the nineteenth century, by a share in the local tax revenues. Thus equipped with comparatively ample resources, the local community in north-central Europe has been able to go a long way in looking after and into the affairs of its needy members. With exemplary thoroughness it has "individualized" its care for them, seeking "constructive"—and not merely palliative—ways of handling its local social problems case by case. To rise to the full height of this conception, the local community has had to be big enough to have sufficient funds and personnel; it is, therefore, in those parts of the German plain where the county has gradually taken the place of the commune as the principal local relief unit that this system has proved most effective. Moreover, since labor mobility has become recognized as desirable, it has become necessary to facilitate the acquisition of the right to relief in a locality; it was, again, in Germany that this tendency first displayed itself with the placing of responsibility on the "place of habitual residence," whereas in the Austrian states, the Czech provinces, and the Swiss cantons this responsibility tended to remain with the "commune of origin."

Around these countries there is a sort of semicircle of countries that have endeavored to work out a *modus vivendi* between the Roman Catholic church and the secular state. Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Poland, Portugal, and

Spain have all made some provision for the rise of local public assistance authorities; nevertheless, they have not in general laid upon their local communities an enforceable responsibility to meet the basic needs of those who cannot provide for themselves; nor have they conferred upon their citizens any right to relief on the ground of destitution, although the broadening of the financial base in recent times has, in some countries, made it possible to grant a right to assistance on the ground of physical infirmity. In this region the historic essence of such public assistance as has hitherto existed is to be found in a system of voluntary local charity fused into a somewhat uncertain degree of unity in each locality by the erection of a tax-aided and semipublic corporate body, of which the French *bureau de bienfaisance* has been the archetype. Some communes have had one, others have not. In those communes that have been so endowed, the resources of the communal relief corporation might be either great or small; its operations might be confined either to domiciliary assistance or to assistance in residential institutions, or they might extend to both forms of aid; and the resources of such private charities as the government allowed to exist, and to which the public assistance body could refer applicants, would also vary greatly in extent. Under this system "adequacy" was impossible: If constructive assistance were attempted, it could meet only a fraction of the need; and, if all who were in need were helped, the help became merely palliative. The soup line in Italy and the bread line in France typified the material shortcomings of this system of what the French rightly called "public charity"; for charity or beneficence is something outside the

realm of juridical rights and administrative duties.

Calvinism molded the local relief pattern of only the Netherlands and Hungary. In these countries the prime responsibility for local aid to the needy was placed on the church, whether Calvinist, Roman Catholic, or other—with the lay municipality filling in such gaps as were left by parishes and religious foundations.

Of the countries of eastern Europe—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—it might almost be said that, whether because they are predominantly agrarian or because the Orthodox church was the principal expression of social solidarity during centuries of Moslem rule, they have no tradition of mandatory local poor relief as in north-central Europe and little tradition of secularly integrated local charitable endowments as in the Roman Catholic hemicycle. They have, therefore, no well-tried and trusted public local machinery on which it is possible to rely in an emergency for the distribution of free rations to those, and only those, who cannot afford to pay for them. This, however, is a problem that cannot be altogether avoided, so that of recent years several of these countries have put public assistance laws on their statute-books with a view, at least, to granting tax exemptions to poor persons, while some of them have set up *ad hoc* machinery for distributing free rations on a basis of community knowledge expressed either through a town meeting, as in Tito's Yugoslavia, or through a parochial committee, as in Archbishop Damaskinos' Greece. Even, however, in places where some such emergency system has been established for insuring distribution to resourceless persons, it has been only the free distribution of rations in kind that

has been envisaged, and in some places the distribution only of imported relief supplies, without any attempt adequately to measure and meet a person's basic needs. In the absence of a firmly established and state-sanctioned system of local general relief, the institutional landscape offers more room than in the Protestant and Catholic West to the meeting of those material needs against which social insurance has proved inadequate through systems of social maintenance financed by the secular state on a nationwide scale.

#### CHILD WELFARE

The child welfare map of Europe bears a considerable resemblance to the local general-relief map.<sup>3</sup> In this case as in that, the countries of north-central Europe—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway (in some respects), Sweden, and some Swiss cantons—constitute a solid bloc where a high conception of community responsibility has manifested itself in a clearly expressed technical program. It is also noteworthy that in the most populous countries in this region one child out of every ten—and in some provinces even more than that—has been born out of wedlock; it is perhaps partly, at least, for this reason that one significant element in the approach of most countries in this group to juvenile welfare has

<sup>3</sup> M. D. Davis, *Young Children in European Countries* (U.S. Office of Education, 1936); W. Friedlander and E. D. Myers, *Child Welfare in Germany before and after Naziism* (Chicago, 1940); E. Fuller (ed.), *International Handbook of Child Care and Protection* (London; 3d ed., 1928); K. Holland, *Youth in European Labor Camps* (American Council on Education, 1939); League of Nations, *Placing of Children in Families* (Geneva, 1935) and *Study of the Legal Position of the Illegitimate Child* (Geneva, 1939); A. K. Smith, *Health and Welfare Services for Mothers and Children in USSR* (U.S. Children's Bureau, 1946; mimeographed) and see below, this *Review*, pp. 258-60.

turned on the conception of all children without normal homes as "wards of the state." One after the other of these countries adopted the principles preached and practiced by Dr. Max Taube at Leipzig between 1882 and 1922, in organizing local child-protection centers through which the state could discharge its responsibilities to disadvantaged young citizens by exercising a supervisory guardianship, inspecting homes and foster-homes, and providing juvenile courts with probation and parole officers. In most of these countries the local child-protection center has acted as a public clearinghouse, which has delegated much of its work to religious bodies such as the Roman Catholic "Caritas" and the Lutheran "Inner Mission"—and also, during the last dozen years, the welfare service of the Nazi party. The principal work of these centers has been legal protection. Anything done by them to provide physical care has been incidental to their main function.

Within this region a distinction has developed between the Scandinavian countries and those of the Continent proper. On the Continent it has been normal for court action to be taken to make a child the ward of the state. In the Scandinavian countries, on the other hand, it has been more normal for this and all other judgments affecting a child in need of public care and protection to be an act, not of law courts, but of educational and other administrative agencies.

Outside the north-central region it is less easy to discover a clearly defined system; but there are several trends and pressures, which, although they overlap, are clearly distinguishable. The most widespread of these trends, and one that is found in Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Orthodox countries alike, is for the

state to assume guardianship responsibilities for a few narrowly defined categories of child, such as, in France, foundlings of unknown parentage (*enfants trouvés*), deserted children of known parentage (*enfants abandonnés*), and those destitute orphans who are given sheltered care in the state's own residential institutions. Another widespread trend has been to organize one big state-sponsored and state-subsidized voluntary agency and to have this body concentrate mainly on physical aspects of child care rather than on the legal protection of the child. European countries that have chosen a child welfare association as an instrument for effectuating national policy have included Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Yugoslavia; it is on maternal and infant health centers, nurseries and kindergartens, supplemental feeding, medical care, and vacation colonies that these countries have concentrated in an effort to give to increasing numbers of normal children—and especially to very young children—a normal home, a good physical start in life, and an introduction to hygienic living standards. But the inevitable shortcomings of a semipublic, semiprivate agency have inevitably led in some places to the development of excellently equipped demonstration centers, rather than of a minimum service available to all. A third trend, toward a system of public puericulture—a trend largely incompatible with the second trend—has shown itself in two different aspects in France and in the Soviet Union. In France, public kindergartens (*écoles maternelles*, for children from three to six), organized by the public education authorities, and also the family allowances paid to mothers by employers under the aegis of the state, have given French social workers two excellent opportuni-

ties for becoming family counselors and for putting all French children—whether or not in normal homes—in touch with such health and welfare services as they may need. Where French child welfare is weakest, the Soviet Republics are strongest; for in those countries a big effort has been made to bring public nurseries (*crèches*, for children from birth to two) within reach of a considerable proportion of the population, thus extending to mothers and children of all income levels a privilege reserved in most countries only for the well-to-do. The French Republic and the Soviet Union are alike, however, in having the secular state itself discharge such responsibilities as it assumes toward its children, instead of delegating these duties to voluntary or quasi-voluntary agencies interposed between the state and the child.<sup>4</sup>

#### MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

The provision of medical care for persons who cannot afford to pay for it provides another basis for drawing the welfare map of Europe. In practically every country in Europe the government has placed a clearly defined responsibility for medical assistance on subordinate public agencies and, at the same time, has conferred on the sick poor a definite right to medical relief. As a general rule, it has, of course, been found less difficult to give effect to this policy in cities and market towns than in rural hamlets and less difficult, also, in regions where transportation facilities have been abundant than in regions where they have been scarce. The outstanding organizational

differences, however, have lain less in economic or geographical factors of this kind than in the relationship established between medical assistance and other social services.<sup>5</sup>

At the center of the Continent there is a group of countries—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Hungary, among others—in which compulsory sickness insurance has been developed in the course of the last two generations to such a pitch of technical and organizational effectiveness that it is through this method of joint prepayment by management and labor that most people have met the cost of medical and hospital care. The financing and, to a considerable extent, the operation of hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoriums, polyclinics, and ambulatoriums have here been very largely by social-insurance carriers. Even school children's health in these countries has been a principal concern of the insurance carriers, since preventive and remedial treatment in youth means economy in later life; and it is largely for this reason that child welfare authorities throughout this region have been able to give their principal attention to the legal protection rather than to the physical well-being of the child. In countries in this region, the principal function of medical assistance has been to fill in such gaps as have been left by an aggressive compulsory health-insurance system organized on the basis of autonomous territorial provident funds. Whether these gaps are few or many, big or small, has depended on the nature of the country's

<sup>4</sup> One should note, however, a kind of compromise trend in France, where a regional voluntary agency—l'Office de Protection de la Maternité et de l'Enfance de la Seine—serves mothers and children from birth through two, under the nonstatutory sponsorship of Parisian social insurance funds paying maternity benefit.

<sup>5</sup> B. Armstrong, *Health Insurance Doctor: Britain, Denmark, France* (Princeton, 1939); Z. Deutschman, "Reports on Public Health in Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia" (Millbank Memorial Fund, 1944; mimeographed); I. S. Falk, *Security against Sickness: Britain, Denmark, France, Germany* (Garden City, 1936); A. Newsholme, *International Studies on Relations between Private and Official Practice of Medicine* (London, 1931).

social-insurance system. In those countries where even agricultural wage-earners and self-employed workers have been covered by compulsory health insurance, a public medical-assistance service is needed only for the care of those few poor families that do not have and have not had a breadwinner in insurable employment; and in countries such as these, local communities have been left to discharge these comparatively minor gap-filling responsibilities. In a country such as Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, where self-employed peasants and craftsmen have not hitherto been covered by compulsory health insurance, the state itself has felt compelled to organize medical assistance throughout the whole length of the land so as to encourage doctors to settle in rural communities.

In the northernmost group of countries—Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden—instead of the local community's responsibility for its sick members being primarily discharged indirectly, through a territorial provident fund, it has been discharged, to a considerable extent directly, through the ordinary organs of municipal government. The general tendency in these countries has been to have public hospitals, like public schools, provided by local authorities out of public taxes for the benefit of rich and poor alike, if they care to make use of them. Membership in health-insurance funds, although publicly encouraged, did not become compulsory until a generation later than on the Continent proper; and, although very important, these funds have been able to concentrate on medical care and sick pay and have not had to provide hospitals or child-care services.

In the south of Europe, before the comparatively recent introduction of compulsory health insurance, there was a

considerable development of public medical assistance for the medically needy. In France this was effected through the public assistance service, which did not feel the same need for deterrent inadequacy when providing for the physically infirm as when catering for the economically weak. In France, at an early date, the secular state assumed responsibility for the management of hospital endowments; it was early recognized that, since many people are medically needy although able to buy their own food and clothing and shelter, a different standard of indigency has to be applied in the case of medical assistance from the one applied in relieving other kinds of necessity; and for maternity cases all tests of economic need have been abolished. In accordance with this policy, French public assistance authorities alone have provided no less than 150,000 beds—three-fourths of the minimum hospital accommodation needed for a population the size of the French—and at Paris it has been reckoned that two-thirds of the babies are born in public assistance hospitals. In Italy the district doctor, midwife, and nurse attend about one in ten of the population.

In eastern Europe—and especially in Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—medical assistance has been developed without being preceded or even accompanied by much development of general relief, with the result that, outside the largest cities, public medical assistance has carried with it few or none of the stigmata of pauperism. The tendency, on the contrary, has been for a rural community to facilitate the work of the tax-provided doctor, by itself providing a co-operative health center. In Poland, where medical assistance to agricultural wage-earners was formerly a responsibility of the employer, the recent break-



up of large estates has necessitated developments in line with those of other east-European countries. Even in the republics of the Soviet Union the provision of medical care at public expense goes back to the institution of *zemstvo* doctors in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

#### SOCIAL WORK

Throughout all Europe the historic foundation of social case work has lain in the interest taken by citizens in the lot of their less fortunate neighbors—an interest which has often been stimulated by the religious teaching that has stressed the importance of works of charity. In some regions, however, much more than in others, a trained and salaried social-work profession has developed in order to co-ordinate, supplement, and reinforce the work of the much more numerous unpaid and untrained volunteer social workers.<sup>6</sup>

In the north-central region the systematization of general relief and the desire to make this relief adequate to the need led to an early systematization of social case work. It was here that the principle of "individualizing" each particular case was developed, first at Hamburg in the 1790's and then, more famously, at Elberfeld in the 1840's, where it was made a responsibility of a considerable number of "fathers of the poor" conscripted by their fellow-citizens to look after a few poor families for a few years each. Wherever this type of general-relief system spread, the systematic organization of lay workers spread with it. Republican Vienna, for example, had some 6,000 unpaid social workers in the

interwar years, as well as some hundreds of salaried professional social workers. As a social-work profession arose, it became geared to the three great specialties of north-central European welfare administration—general relief, child welfare, and medicosocial work; it tended to be recruited from people whose previous training had pointed them in one or another of these three specific directions; and it is shared in the general respect given in those countries to public servants by whom the law of the land was administered.

In France and the Low Countries the lay social worker has usually been a lady visitor associated with voluntary Christian charity, rather than a male burgher fulfilling a civic obligation. The professional social worker (*assistante sociale*) here arose less as a specialist administrator of public community services or organizer of lay social workers than as a general counselor of individual wage-earners and their families, working originally with benevolent employers and to some extent, in Belgium, with trade-unions. This industrial rather than governmental origin of professional social work in France and the Low Countries has reinforced the tendency for the social-work profession there, as everywhere, to stress preventive help rather than palliative relief. As family allowances ceased to be a private experiment and became a public duty, the social worker connected with the western European allowance system tended to become a new kind of public servant, but one whose referral and follow-up functions gave her more affinity to a public health nurse, a visiting nurse, or a health visitor, than to a law-enforcement or adjudicating officer.

In both the north-central and the western regions, it has become standard

<sup>6</sup> Y. Bougé, *L'Assistante sociale* (Paris, 1942); H. Kraus, "Lay Participation in Social Work," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings*, 1934, pp. 223-29; A. Salomon, *Education for Social Work* (Zurich, 1937).



practice for the professional social worker to obtain a state diploma after two or three years' training in a state-approved school, usually unconnected with a university. In neither region has social-work training depended upon attendance at a graduate school of a university, as in North America. In length and type of training, the professional social worker of north-central and western Europe has thus approximated more to the nurse or the primary schoolteacher than to those learned professions for which a lengthy academic training has long been considered necessary.

In the east and south of Europe the form taken by general relief and by child welfare has not acted as a stimulus to the organization of a social-work profession or to the establishment of professional training schools. The volunteer social worker has there tended to remain more important than the professional social worker. Such training courses as have

been introduced have been geared almost entirely to the needs of the volunteer. In the past this has meant primarily the leisured philanthropist with a sense of religious vocation; but the "vertical" patron-client relationship which this reinforced is no doubt replaceable by new "horizontal" forms of mutual aid among equals. In the Soviet Republics, for example, a new type of trade-union official has arisen whose function is to put his fellow-workers into effective relationship with the services available to them, while a similar service is rendered to mothers and children by paid health visitors. Moreover, true social work of this kind, whether lay or paid, mutual or professional, can become more, rather than less, effective, as responsibility for adequate physical minimums comes to be assumed by the state systems of social insurance and assistance.

HAMILTON COLLEGE  
CLINTON, NEW YORK

## PUBLIC HOUSING IN CHICAGO, 1946

WAYNE McMILLEN

AS LONG ago as 1881 the city health department of Chicago issued a warning about the dangerous overcrowding in the slums and attributed it to "an actual scarcity of houses."<sup>1</sup> A subsequent speculative boom was followed by a collapse, and now the cycle has been completed. Today, overcrowding has again reached such proportions that the city is erecting hundreds of temporary structures in an effort to relieve a housing shortage of catastrophic dimensions.

During this entire cycle of sixty-five years there was never a time when civic leaders were not decrying the evil housing conditions in the community. Even when vacancies were numerous, the poorest families still lived in insanitary hovels. Efforts were made from time to time to remedy matters through zoning ordinances, building codes, and inspection services. Doubtless these police measures retarded the deterioration of some houses and some neighborhoods; they did not, of course, produce new homes. A long search was still ahead to discover a positive approach to the problem of creating an adequate housing supply to meet the needs of all income groups in the city.

Private philanthropy attempted to demonstrate what was needed by erecting two imposing projects—the Marshall Field Garden Apartments on the Near North Side and the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments (built by Julius Rosenwald) on the South Side. Both were important additions to the com-

munity's supply of decent, modern homes. Neither succeeded, however, in meeting the needs of low-income families.

Charles Booth, an English financier and social reformer, had already discovered that it is impossible "to combine philanthropy and six percent," but the belief lingered long in this country that American ingenuity could devise self-liquidating housing estates for the low-income families of the slums. The two private projects in Chicago, now occupied by families with comfortable incomes, did much to demolish this belief. The community now knows that, with present building costs and tax rates, neither private philanthropists nor competitive builders can provide decent homes for the city's lowest-income groups.

The census of 1940 showed that 55,157 dwelling units<sup>2</sup> in Chicago were overcrowded.<sup>3</sup> The influx of war workers during the ensuing quinquennium increased this number substantially. The census also showed that 206,013 dwellings either had no private bath or were in need of major repairs. Thus, it is clear that, without reference to the thousands of marginal dwellings not included in these figures, the housing supply of Chicago

<sup>1</sup> *Housing: Supplement to the First Series: Housing Bulletin for Illinois, Chicago Block Statistics, 1942*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The census counted as overcrowded only those dwellings with more than 1.5 persons per room. This standard is admittedly low. For example a three-room apartment occupied by the parents and two adolescent children of opposite sex would not be classified as overcrowded even though it contained only one bedroom.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of Chicago Department of Health, 1881-82*, p. 46.

needs to be augmented immediately by at least 300,000 permanent, modern units.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that private enterprise cannot build modern houses in Chicago to rent for less than \$15-\$18 per room per month.<sup>4</sup> A four-room flat must therefore bring at least \$60 per month. Since families cannot pay more than 20 per cent of their income for rent without skimping on other necessities, this means that private enterprise cannot at present build for those whose incomes fall below \$3,600 per year. But in 1935-36 about one-third of Chicago's families received incomes below \$1,000 per year.<sup>5</sup> Although the full employment and increased wages of the war years have improved family incomes, it is conservatively estimated that, even in 1942, about 25 per cent of all Chicago families had incomes of less than \$2,000 per year. Since it is already clear that the dream of full employment at high wages and stabilized living costs will not be fully realized in the postwar period, the conclusion is inescapable that, under present conditions, at least 250,000 families cannot be supplied with modern homes by private builders.

Of course, it is not necessary for every family to have a *new* home. One school of thought holds that profitable building for the upper-income families will release *their* present homes for the use of the poor. This filtering-down process undoubtedly occurs. But it does not occur very rapidly, partly because the poor are

many times more numerous than the well-to-do. Moreover, by the time these homes actually filter down, they have usually been cut up into many "kitchenette apartments" in order to increase the income from the property. A walk through any of the avenues abandoned by the prosperous shows clearly that most of these ancient mansions are now deteriorated slum properties, overcrowded and insanitary. The filtering-down process may afford some relief, but it cannot be relied upon to provide a decent home, either old or new, for every family in the city.

Chicago, in common with all other American cities, was very slow to accept the implications of these facts. There was always the hope that "something would turn up" to enable private enterprise to do the entire housing job. Moreover, there always was—and still is—well-organized, articulate opposition to any program of public housing.<sup>6</sup> The opposition has thus far failed to prove its case by the one argument that would be incontrovertible—the production of decent housing for low-income families, either by new construction, reconversion, or "filtering down." Therefore, in the last decade, Chicago and a large number of

<sup>4</sup> See testimony of Ferd Kramer, of the real estate firm of Draper and Kramer, Chicago, on S. 1592 (General Housing Bill) presented before Senate Banking and Currency Committee, December 6, 1945 (*Congressional Record*, Appendix [Friday, December 21, 1945], p. A 6175).

<sup>5</sup> Mary Sydney Branch, "Consumer Expenditures in the Low-Income Groups," *Social Service Review*, XVI (June, 1942), 265.

<sup>6</sup> The following terms are used in this article with the indicated meanings. *Economic rent* means that the tenant pays for his accommodations a sum sufficient to cover taxes and upkeep and still yield a profit to the owner on his investment. *Public housing* refers to dwellings operated by government agencies (usually a local housing authority) for which the tenant pays less than an economic rent. A *subsidy* is a sum of money, or its equivalent, which government—federal, state, or local, or all three—pays out of tax funds to cover the difference between the income from rentals, on the one hand, and the costs of construction (amortized) and upkeep, on the other. Public housing thus differs from private housing in the following important respects: (1) it is not profit-making; in fact, it requires a subsidy; and (2) it is not managed by a private owner or by a commercial real estate company but by a public authority.

other American cities have made a choice. If public housing provides the only present alternative to continuation of overcrowded, insanitary slums, public housing must be encouraged.

Table 1 shows the location and the number of dwelling units in Chicago's public housing projects as of June 1, 1946. These homes, all of them completed within the past decade, represent a capital investment of approximately \$50,000,000. They house a total of ap-

proximately 30,000 people. Of this number, more than 50 per cent are children under eighteen years of age.

Authority by virtue of the authorizations contained in Public Law 412 (Seventy-fifth Congress). Under the terms of this act the federal government may advance up to 90 per cent of the cost of the land and the buildings and, in addition, guarantees an annual contribution or subsidy. In the case of the Ida B. Wells Homes, the maximum annual contribution under the statutory formula would normally be about \$265,000. In addition, the local government is required to contribute each year an amount equal to at least 20 per cent of the annual federal subsidy. This local contribution is made through remission of local taxes.

TABLE 1  
PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS IN CHICAGO AS OF JUNE 1, 1946

Name of Project	Number of Dwelling Units	Location
Total.....	7,956	.....
1. Jane Addams Houses.....	1,027	1000 S. Lytle St.
2. Altgeld Garden Apartments.....	1,500	930 E. 132d St.
3. Bridgeport Homes.....	141	844 W. 32d St.
4. Robert Brooks Homes.....	834	1313 S. Throop St.
5. Frances Cabrini Homes.....	581	900 N. Hudson Ave.
6. Julia C. Lathrop Homes.....	925	2000 W. Diversey Parkway
7. Lawndale Garden Apartments.....	128	2533 S. California Ave.
8. Trumbull Park Homes.....	486	2437 E. 106th St.
9. Ida B. Wells Homes.....	1,662	454 E. Pershing Road
10. Wentworth Gardens*.....	422	3800 Wentworth Ave.
11. West Chesterfield Homes.....	250	9301 Forrest Ave.

\* Still under construction, partially occupied.

These eleven public housing projects have been built under the terms of several different federal acts. The first three projects (Jane Addams Houses, Julia C. Lathrop Homes, and Trumbull Park Homes) were constructed by the Public Works Administration under Harold L. Ickes. It is interesting to note that the need to create jobs to relieve the catastrophic unemployment of the 1930's was a decisive factor in inducing Congress to undertake this first slum-clearance program. The opposition to public housing,

which delayed for so many years the attack on slum clearance, suffered its first major setback largely because the appeal of a job-making public works program was at the moment very persuasive. Title to these three projects is still vested in the federal government, which leases them to the Chicago Housing Authority to maintain and operate for the benefit of low-income families.



BUILDINGS SOON TO BE DEMOLISHED BY THE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY TO MAKE ROOM FOR A NEW PROJECT AT TWENTY-SEVENTH AND STATE STREETS, CHICAGO

The two-story structure in the background is occupied by four families. The first floor is rented by an eleven-person family, which subleases the rear rooms to a four-person family. The second floor is rented to a five-person family, which subleases part of the space to a three-person family. The total number of persons inhabiting the structure is twenty-three. The schedule of monthly payments of the four families for rent and utilities is as follows:

ITEM	MONTHLY PAYMENT				
	Total	First Floor		Second Floor	
		Tenants	Subtenants	Tenants	Subtenants
Total .....	\$143.40	\$52.50	\$40	\$32.25	\$18.65
Rent .....	117.90	40.00	40	25.00	12.90
Utilities .....	25.50	12.50	.....	7.25	5.75



ROBERT H. BROOKS HOMES





VETERANS' TEMPORARY HOUSING PROJECT, FOSTER AND KOSTNER AVENUES, CHICAGO



LAWNDALE GARDENS

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An approximation of the co-operative arrangement outlined in the foregoing paragraph will presumably be resumed as soon as wartime conditions come to an end. Temporarily, during the war, full employment and improved wages justified temporary divergence from this plan. Many of the tenants obtained full-time employment in war industries at good wages. Hence they were no longer entitled to occupy subsidized dwellings. But in Chicago, as in most defense and war-production centers, in-migration quickly resulted in an acute shortage of housing facilities. Hence, in 1943 the War Manpower Commission and the Office of Price Administration directed the Chicago Housing Authority to cease evicting families whose incomes had risen above the low levels that would normally entitle them to occupy public housing. The only alternative was to raise rents. This resulted in an unusual situation. One family with a low income would continue to pay the pre-war monthly rental—for example, \$15—while a family across the hall with identical accommodations might, because of an inflated wartime income, be asked to pay more than twice as much as before the war. Contrary to predictions, the tenants accepted these differential rents without protest. Of course, the result was that the income from the properties increased sharply. Hence it has been possible to operate without benefit of the annual federal subsidy.

In one other important respect the financing has not followed the projected pattern: it has not been necessary to borrow from the federal government. In fact, present indications suggest that it may never be necessary to borrow up to the 90 per cent permitted by law to finance any of the low-rent projects.<sup>7</sup> The reason is that the Chicago Housing

Authority has been able to sell its own notes on very favorable terms. The unqualified promise of the federal government to pay both principal and interest if necessary provides the security feature that makes these notes attractive to investors. Thus far the borrowings have all been for short periods of time at low interest rates. The long-term financing to be undertaken later will undoubtedly involve higher interest rates, though there is reason to believe that there will be competition and a brisk demand for the long-term securities also and that a very large part of the financing can be handled without federal loans.

The four projects discussed above (Jane Addams Houses, Julia C. Lathrop Homes, Trumbull Park Homes, and Ida B. Wells Homes) were all constructed for the benefit of low-income families unable to pay the usual economic rents. The remaining seven projects were built under federal acts designed to provide housing for defense workers and war workers. Shortly after V-J Day, six of these seven projects were turned into low-rent dwellings available to low-income families only. The Chicago Housing Authority will doubtless purchase these dwellings within the next year or so from the federal government on financial terms similar to those described in relation to the Ida B. Wells Homes.

The seventh war housing project is an exception. These 250 homes were built in West Chesterfield under the provisions of the Lanham Act.<sup>8</sup> From the beginning these houses have paid full local taxes.

<sup>7</sup> The total development cost of the Ida B. Wells Homes was approximately \$8,769,000. Up to date this debt has been reduced by \$569,000. The remainder of \$8,173,000 is being carried exclusively by the short-term notes of the C.H.A. These notes bear interest at the rate of 59/100 of 1 per cent. Thus at present the federal government holds no part of the loan.

<sup>8</sup> Public Law 849 (76th Cong.).

They have been occupied by war workers who have paid full economic rents. At the termination of the emergency they are to be sold, preferably to their present occupants. Thus the West Chesterfield houses have not increased the supply of low-rent dwellings. Their long-range contribution is important primarily because, under present conditions, any increase in the number of modern sanitary dwellings helps to alleviate the unprecedented deficiency in the community's supply of houses.

Responsibility for constructing and managing public housing projects in Chicago is intrusted to the Chicago Housing Authority (hereinafter called the C.H.A.). The C.H.A. is a municipal corporation, creation of which was authorized by the General Assembly of Illinois in the Housing Authorities Act (approved March 19, 1934). In Chicago the first commissioners were appointed in 1937. There are five commissioners appointed by the mayor. The mayor has always submitted the names of his appointees to the City Council for indorsement, though he is not required to do so under the law. The law does provide, however, that the mayor's nominees must be approved by the State Housing Board. The commissioners, who are not paid, serve for five years each, one vacancy occurring every year. They elect their own officers, employ the chief executive of the Authority, and are generally responsible for the development and oversight of the program.

Representativeness is harder to achieve in a small board of five than in the larger boards that usually govern private agencies. Nevertheless, in the case of the Chicago Housing Authority, the appointments have been made with a view to obtaining a widely representative governing body. The C.H.A. was the first,

and is still the only, public housing authority in the United States with a Negro chairman. The commissioners include members of the three major religious groups—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. Occupationally, one commissioner is identified with large-scale business management, another holds a key position in organized labor, and the remaining three are white-collar or professional men.

The commissioners of the C.H.A. select and employ the chief administrative officer of the Authority and approve the schedule of job descriptions and salary classifications covering the other paid positions. All these other positions are actually filled, however, by or under the direction of the chief executive. As of February 28, 1946, the total staff of the C.H.A. numbered 449. Of these, 295 were maintenance workers, such as janitors, electricians, steamfitters, glaziers, etc. The remaining 154 were engaged in administrative or clerical work.

Unlike most public welfare agencies, the C.H.A. receives no annual or biennial appropriation from any legislative body for current operations. Nor does the C.H.A. have power to levy taxes. Hence all its expenditures must be charged either to (a) the development costs of the projects or to (b) the maintenance costs of the occupied dwellings. This arrangement has both strengths and weaknesses. Undoubtedly it is a plan that encourages economies. It inspires a desire to keep development costs low in order to minimize the debt that must be liquidated and the annual interest thereon. The income from rented dwellings is practically the only source of revenue of the C.H.A. Excessive maintenance costs could make such inroads on these funds that monthly rentals might have to be raised. A development of that character would ulti-

mately destroy the low-rent objective of the program and would thus nullify the intent of Congress in enacting the legislation which made construction of the projects possible. Thus there is great pressure in the direction of reducing or eliminating expenditures, since all of them either enlarge the obligations incurred in developing the projects or increase the proportion of the rentals that must be used for current maintenance.

It is clear that this pressure to keep expenses down may result in unwise economies. The C.H.A. has faced this question periodically in relation to such matters as research. It would be very useful, for example, if data were currently available on the state of the local housing market. But to instal and maintain a system that would provide an up-to-the-minute market analysis would involve considerable expense—all of it chargeable to the income from rentals. Hence the undertaking has never been launched. Many other questions arise which could be wholly or partially answered by instituting special research projects. Most of these questions have been shelved because of the costs involved. This and similar experiences in other areas of C.H.A. activity suggest that it may ultimately prove wise to grant an annual appropriation to the Authority which could be spent to improve its work and which would be chargeable neither to the development account nor to the maintenance budgets.

The rental policies adopted by the C.H.A. are obviously a central point of public interest. These policies must necessarily be changed from time to time, not only to keep them in conformity with new legislation, but also to adjust them to changing economic conditions in the community. Formerly, applications for apartments in the low-rent projects were

rejected if the total family income exceeded \$1,200 per year. This rule was observed in all cases, regardless of the size of family. Experience proved that this regulation was not sufficiently flexible. In the larger families the earnings of the breadwinner are often supplemented by the part-time earnings of the wife and older children. This might raise the total income above the \$1,200 level without providing sufficient money to enable the family to obtain decent accommodations in the competitive market. Accordingly, the policy was modified to permit some of the larger families to qualify. At present, the policy is to set ceiling incomes for applicants at two levels—one for families with three minor dependents or less and a somewhat higher one for the larger families.

During the war, incomes increased throughout the community. These increases were shared to some extent by low-income families, even including those who are chiefly dependent upon relief. Some cases came to light in which the monthly relief allowance of an applicant exceeded the \$100 per month, or \$1,200 per year, which, under the existing policies of the C.H.A., made them ineligible as tenants. It was clear, therefore, that modification of the policy was needed. It was also clear that, in the light of the increase in the costs of living, a higher ceiling would still exclude the families who are able to rent suitable accommodations in the competitive market. Accordingly, late in 1945 a new policy was adopted. At present families of four persons or less may be accepted if their annual incomes do not exceed \$1,500 per year. Larger families may be accepted unless their incomes exceed \$1,650 per year.

The policy relating to family incomes has always been more stringent with re-

spect to new applicants than with respect to occupant families who manage to increase their incomes during the period of their tenancy. The C.H.A. hopes that the improved morale resulting from the occupancy of clean, attractive homes will in many instances be reflected in improved family earnings. There is ample evidence that this often occurs. When earnings do thus increase, the C.H.A. faces a difficult problem. Unless the income appreciates by a considerable percentage, the tenants, if evicted, may be

TABLE 2

MONTHLY RENTALS FOR SPECIFIED CLASS OF APARTMENT UNDER THE SCHEDULE OF GRADED RENTS IN EFFECT AT THE IDA B. WELLS HOMES, MARCH, 1946

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	NUMBER OF BEDROOMS				
	0	1	2	3	4
\$ 0-\$ 900.....	\$15	\$15	\$16	\$17	\$18
\$ 901-\$1,200.....	20	20	21	22	23
\$1,201-\$1,500.....	25	25	26	27	28
\$1,501-\$1,800.....	30	30	31	32	33
\$1,801-\$2,100.....	35	36	37	38	39
\$2,101-\$2,400.....	40	41	42	43	44
\$2,401-\$2,700.....	45	46	47	48	49
\$2,701-\$3,000.....	50	51	52	53	54

obliged to return to slum dwellings no better than those from which they sought to escape when they applied for public housing. On the other hand, the C.H.A., with its long waiting lists of eligible applicants, cannot continue to provide housing for families whose enlarged incomes enable them to pay economic rents.

For these reasons the C.H.A. has established a range through which the incomes of tenants may increase without jeopardizing their occupancy. These income figures vary according to the size of the apartment occupied. For the two-room units at Jane Addams Houses, the

annual income may increase to \$1,800 before the tenant is requested to move. The highest income permitted is \$3,000 per year, and this relates only to the four-bedroom apartments occupied by the largest families. The other income ceilings for continued occupancy fall between these two extremes. Of course, the monthly rentals are increased as the family incomes approach or reach these ceilings.

Actually, under present conditions, these policies relating to continued occupancy cannot be enforced. The C.H.A. persists in requesting families to move when their incomes exceed the ceilings indicated. Most of the families then try without success to locate new homes. Formerly, after a reasonable period elapsed, the C.H.A. instituted eviction proceedings in such cases. At present, however, the Office of Price Administration will not issue a certificate of eviction unless the C.H.A. can offer alternate housing to the tenants. Since vacancies are nonexistent, there is for the time being no means by which tenants with excess income can be forced to move.

In this dilemma and until the housing market relaxes, the C.H.A. can only continue its wartime policy of increasing the rents of tenants who have excess incomes. Table 2 shows the schedule of graded rents now in force at the Ida B. Wells Homes. Although there are a few minor variations, the schedules in effect at the other projects are substantially the same. As the table indicates, the general objective is to fix the rents on the basis of family income rather than on the size of apartment occupied. Thus a large family requiring a four-bedroom apartment pays a monthly rental of only \$18 if the total income falls below \$900, while a small family in a one-bedroom flat would pay \$40—or more than twice



as much—if its annual income increased to the \$2,100–\$2,400 level.

Since the number of applicants for these public housing units exceeds by a very wide margin the accommodations available, the C.H.A. is obliged to adopt other policies to assist in determining which applicants to select.<sup>9</sup> Chief of these is the provision that preference is always given to families with children. This policy, which seeks to recognize the prior claim of disadvantaged children upon whatever resources the community creates, nevertheless excludes many families badly in need of better accommodations. Among these are aged couples, many of whom are recipients of old age assistance, with incomes too low to enable them to rent suitable quarters. Many are known to be living in rooms or small flats where it is almost impossible to keep warm, comfortable, and clean. From an income standpoint they are eligible for public housing, but at present it is not possible to foresee a time when the supply of such dwellings will be large enough to include them as tenants.

Veterans of the recent war are likewise given preference. They must, of course, be eligible from an income standpoint. Moreover, veterans with children enjoy priority over childless veterans. Up to the present, preference for veterans in the permanent, low-rent projects has not meant much because very few of the present occupants leave, and none can be evicted for excess income. Hence the number of vacancies available for veterans has been very small.

Although the C.H.A. charges very low rents, it insists that these rents be paid. No family is denied admittance merely

<sup>9</sup> Applicants for admission to the projects have a right to appeal to the commissioners if they believe they have been unfairly rejected by the staff. Only two such appeals have been received in the last three years.

because its income is extremely low. As a result, cases sometimes arise in which families have to pay a larger percentage of their incomes for rent than is desirable, though they almost always pay less than in their former locations. Moreover, the C.H.A. evicts families who persistently fail to pay their rent. Unlike the excess-income cases, the nonpayment of rent cases do not require a certificate of eviction from the O.P.A. They go directly to the Municipal (Renters) Court, where a five-day eviction notice may be issued. Actually the number of such cases has been very small. But, since income from rentals provides the sole source of revenue for the maintenance of a low-rent housing program in this city, the continued life of the program is dependent upon establishing among the tenants the tradition and the habit of prompt and full payment of rents.

The exemption of public housing projects from local taxation is always denounced by opponents of the program as one of its most objectionable features. It is easy to see, of course, that if public housing should expand to shelter a large portion of all families in the city, the tax-exemption feature would ultimately destroy the chief present source of support of local governments. Realistically, however, there is no basis for assuming either (a) that public housing is likely to be produced in sufficient volume to menace the income from the real property tax or (b) that the tax on real estate may not in the future be supplanted by some more equitable and more productive system of taxation. But, whatever the future may hold, it is clear that under existing conditions decent homes cannot be rented at prices the lowest-income families can pay unless the tax-exemption feature is retained.

Tax exemption does not mean, of

course, that the public housing projects make no cash contribution toward the support of local government. The fact is that the cash contribution turned in to the local treasury often exceeds the annual taxes collected from the slum properties which cumbered the site before the new homes were constructed. In the five-year period 1939-44, the public housing projects in Chicago contributed in cash a total of \$313,155.45 to help finance local governmental services. Because of the misunderstandings and misstatements relating to these payments, some further details concerning them are worth noting.

Whenever the C.H.A. selects a site and sets out to build a new public housing project, it executes an "Agreement of Co-operation" with the city of Chicago.<sup>10</sup> Included in each agreement is a provision whereby the C.H.A. undertakes to pay annually in cash to the county treasurer a stipulated percentage of the shelter rents.<sup>11</sup> These payments are known as a "service charge in lieu of taxes." The theory is that the projects, though tax exempt in the usual sense, should help to pay for the services they receive from the municipality, such as fire and police protection.

In the case of all but two of the eleven housing projects managed by the C.H.A., the contractual agreement provides for an annual payment of 5 per cent of the shelter rent as service charges in lieu of taxes. The agreement covering the Ida B. Wells Homes calls for only 3 per cent of the shelter rents. The second exception is the project in West Chesterfield, which pays full taxes under the terms of the Lanham Act. But, as was pointed out

earlier, the income from rentals increased sharply from 1943 onward as a result of the system of differential rents inaugurated to take care of the cases of tenants with excess incomes. Therefore, in June, 1944, the C.H.A. voluntarily adopted a resolution providing for payments of service charges equal to 10 per cent of the shelter rents. This represented a 7 per cent increase in the case of the Ida B. Wells Homes and 5 per cent in the case of the nine other projects. Just how long it will be possible to continue payments at these rates cannot at present be predicted. The intention of the C.H.A. is to return all projects to total low-income occupancy just as soon as the state of the housing market makes possible the eviction of families with excess income. When that is accomplished, it will doubtless be necessary to return to the payment levels provided in the agreements.

If the C.H.A. projects had been built by private enterprise, the total amount they would pay each year in taxes would exceed the contributions made by the C.H.A., even at the present 10 per cent level. However, there is little reason to believe that private enterprise would ever have built modern dwellings in these deteriorated neighborhoods. Therefore it is interesting to compare the payments made by C.H.A. with the taxes assessed on these properties in their last full year of private ownership. As Table 3 indicates, the C.H.A. payments exceeded by \$33,653.88 the amounts assessed against these properties the year before the C.H.A. acquired them. Since delinquency in payment of taxes is widespread in slum areas, the actual cash received undoubtedly fell well below the \$111,635 assessed. From an actual cash standpoint, therefore, local government derives more money from the service charges paid by the modern public hous-

<sup>10</sup> The City Council is the body which acts for the city in these matters.

<sup>11</sup> Shelter rent means the gross rent actually paid by the tenants less the cost of utilities.



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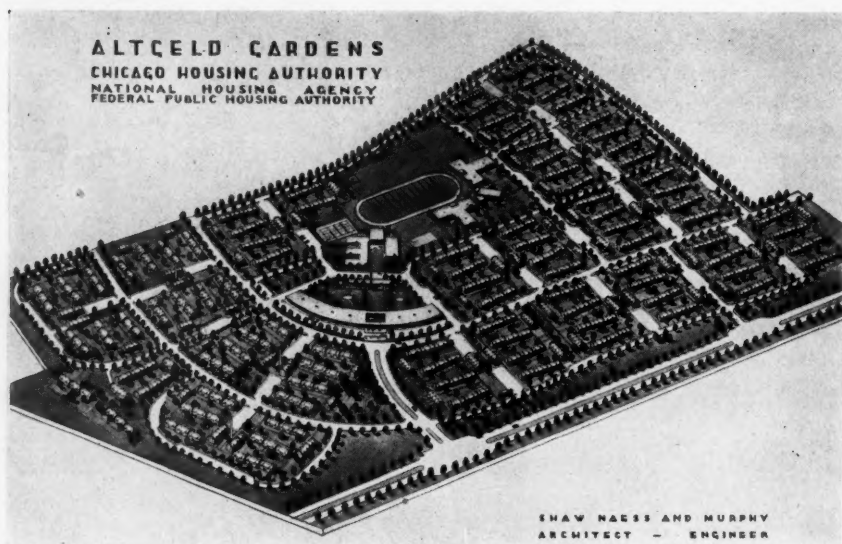
BRIDGEPORT HOMES



JANE ADDAMS HOUSES



IDA B. WELLS HOMES



ALTGELD GARDENS

This is a public housing project that is a modern city on Chicago's southern rim, in the Calumet steel district. It houses seven thousand Negroes. Schools and athletic field in right-center background; central shopping area in left center.

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ing units built on slum sites than from the full taxes levied against the deteriorated properties formerly occupying the same ground. Moreover, there is persuasive evidence to support the natural belief that the substitution of modern dwellings for slums substantially reduces the expenditures the community must make in the area to combat or treat disease and delinquency and to prevent crime and fire.

Although the tax-exemption feature of public housing appears now to be fully established in Illinois, for a considerable period of time the matter was in doubt. On October 19, 1943, the C.H.A. sent checks aggregating \$110,771.54 to the treasurer of Cook County in payment of service charges on all projects operated by the Authority in the years 1939 through 1942. These checks were subsequently returned to the Authority with the county treasurer's statement that the warrant books in his office did not reflect any assessment against these properties. This action followed conferences between the county treasurer and the county assessor in which the latter official stated that he was not a "service-charge maker" but was strictly a valuation finder. The assessor also made clear his intention to place the public housing projects on the tax rolls at their full assessed valuation.<sup>12</sup> The C.H.A. pointed out that the intention of the General Assembly of Illinois was clearly to exempt public housing projects from taxation.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the tax-exemption feature of

public housing had been sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois in December, 1938, in *Krause v. Peoria Housing Authority*.<sup>14</sup> After the Illinois Supreme Court reaffirmed its position in a second case<sup>15</sup> in May, 1945, the properties of the C.H.A. were removed from the tax rolls, and the local officials are currently accepting payment of service charges in lieu of taxes without protest.

This solution of the matter was undoubtedly in the best interest of the com-

TABLE 3

SERVICE CHARGES PAID IN LIEU OF TAXES BY THE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1944, AND THE TAXES ASSESSED AGAINST THE SAME PROPERTIES IN THEIR LAST FULL YEAR OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Type of Project	C.H.A. Payments in Lieu of Taxes	Taxes Assessed Last Year of Private Ownership
P.W.A. projects (3) . .	\$ 58,402.54	\$ 39,731.00
Ida B. Wells Homes . .	40,259.72	35,650.00
War-housing projects (6) . . . . .	46,626.62	36,254.00
Total . . . . .	\$145,288.88	\$111,635.00

munity. Payment of full taxes would necessitate a substantial increase in rentals. This would automatically destroy the low-rent character of the program and would nullify the intent of Congress. Federal authorities would therefore be obliged to take over the properties and to operate them as federal, rather than as

<sup>12</sup> The Ida B. Wells Homes, for example, were placed on the tax rolls at this time, and the taxes assessed for the year 1943 were fixed at \$253,999.88. This figure should be compared with the \$35,650 assessed against these properties (but not necessarily fully collected) in 1935 when the site was covered with slum dwellings; it should also be compared with the \$40,259.72 which the C.H.A. set aside to pay as a service charge in lieu of taxes for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1943.

<sup>13</sup> Subsection 12 of section 2 of "An Act for the Assessment of Property and for the Levy and Collection of Taxes (Approved March 30, 1892) as Amended by an Act Approved July 12, 1938 (S.B. 39)." See also Sec. 29 of the "Housing Authorities Act," approved March 19, 1934.

<sup>14</sup> 370 Ill. 356 (1939).

<sup>15</sup> *Springfield Housing Authority v. Overake*, 390 Ill. 403.

local, services. As federal properties, the dwellings would be completely tax exempt and would not be legally obligated to pay even a service charge in lieu of taxes. Thus the local government would certainly not collect full taxes, and it might even lose the revenues it now receives from these properties.<sup>16</sup>

Local housing authorities in Illinois are empowered to "engage in low-rent housing and slum clearance projects."<sup>17</sup> Whether these purposes are separable or not has never been determined by the courts. An opinion submitted to the C.H.A. by its attorney holds that they are separable. If this is true, the C.H.A. can exercise its powers of eminent domain to acquire and clear slum properties on which it has no intention of building low-rent dwellings. Until recently this question has had very little practical importance for two very good reasons. In the first place, it would be currently impossible to provide alternate housing for families occupying slum dwellings; hence the C.H.A. could not today acquire slums merely to demolish them. Until the present acute housing shortage is remedied, slum dwellings—bad as they are—must be retained, since some kind of shelter is obviously better than none. In the second place, the acquisition of slum properties, whether by purchase or by condemnation, requires money. Until recently, funds for land acquisition have been available only when federal authorities consented to co-operate in the building of housing projects.

Within the past year, however, this

<sup>16</sup> The Supreme Court of Ohio decided that, under the constitution of that state, the public low-rent housing projects are taxable (*Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority v. Thatcher*, 42 N.E. [2d] 437). As a result of this decision, the housing projects in Ohio are now owned and operated by the federal government and are thus tax exempt and do not pay a service charge.

<sup>17</sup> Housing Authorities Act (approved March 19, 1934), sec. 2.

situation has changed. In June, 1945, the voters of Chicago approved a \$5,000,000 bond issue to be used for slum-clearance purposes. In addition, the General Assembly of Illinois at its last session made \$10,000,000 available to the State Housing Board to distribute as grants to local housing authorities. These state funds are likewise designed to accelerate slum clearance. Since the State Housing Board is required to apportion these grants on the basis of population, the amount allocated to Chicago is \$4,300,000. Thus, for the first time both local and state money have been set aside to help meet the long-range housing problems of Chicago.

The C.H.A. has decided to use both the local and the state money to acquire slum properties. Three sites have been selected, appraisers are at work establishing values on all parcels of land involved, and the task of negotiating with owners and instituting condemnation procedures where necessary is under way. Even after title to these properties has been obtained, it will not be possible to begin demolition immediately. The tearing-down of the existing structures can begin only after other dwellings are available to shelter the displaced families. This may even involve the construction of some temporary structures.

With respect to the slum lands acquired with the \$9,300,000 made available by the state and local governments, two courses of action are under consideration. One suggestion is that these lands be sold or leased to private enterprise for development and that little or no charge be made for the sites. In effect, this would be a direct subsidy to the private enterpriser who made the most suitable offer. Obviously, public funds cannot be given in this way to private parties unless adequate safeguards are set up to insure that public purposes will be thereby advanced and that the public interest

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is fully protected. This would require the development of contracts covering such essential factors as density, sanitation, rent schedules, etc., and would necessitate some degree of supervision to insure fulfillment of the contracts.

The alternative under consideration would call for the construction of houses on these sites by the C.H.A. The development funds for such an undertaking could be borrowed on federally insured mortgages under the terms of existing legislation. There would be, however, no annual federal subsidy. Hence, even with land costs excluded from the amortization schedule, the rents would necessarily be higher than in the existing low-rent projects.<sup>18</sup>

Present estimates suggest that monthly rentals in these dwellings would be in the neighborhood of \$45 per month. Presumably, therefore, these homes could not shelter families whose incomes fall below \$180 per month or \$2,160 per year. Hence they would not serve the needs of the lowest-income families, though they would serve groups who at present experience great difficulty in finding decent quarters at prices they can afford to pay. Although the C.H.A. has thus far discovered no way in which it can build these houses to rent at a lower figure than \$45, it has also found no basis for believing that any private enterpriser could contract to supply suitable dwellings to rent on more favorable terms. There is, of course, the possibility that before the task of acquiring title has been completed, new legislation, either state or federal, may make possible a better plan than either of those now under consideration.

Since V-J Day, the work of the C.H.A. has taken an entirely new direction. The return of thousands of veterans to a city already desperately short of houses cre-

ated a crisis requiring immediate attention. Early in December, 1945, the City Council made \$1,000,000 available to the C.H.A. for the erection of temporary dwellings for veterans. Seventeen days later the first veteran and his family moved into one of these temporary homes. Since that time the City Council has appropriated an additional \$1,000,000 to expand this program. At present these temporary houses are being completed at the rate of three per day. Very soon this rate will be increased to nine per day. The total program calls for 3,400 of these temporary dwellings, though there is every likelihood that this number may have to be substantially increased.

These interim homes for veterans are of four types: (1) demountables; (2) temporaries; (3) trailers; and (4) Quonset huts. Of these, the demountables are the most desirable. They are really prefabricated, factory-built homes. They are moved to the site in sections and are bolted together on pre-installed foundations of concrete or piling. They have hardwood floors, hot and cold running water, shower baths, and indoor toilets. Each unit has its own space heater. The O.P.A. permits the C.H.A. to rent these homes unfurnished at \$27.50 per month for the one-bedroom units and \$32.50 for the two-bedroom units. The "temporaries" are houses that were built on the original site. Most of them are constructed of plywood and are finished inside with beaverboard. They, too, have hot and cold running water, shower baths, indoor toilets, and space heaters. The trailers<sup>19</sup> are said to be warm and comfortable but are in certain other respects undesirable. Many families find they provide too little space. Moreover,

<sup>19</sup> At this writing, rent schedules have not yet been established for either the temporaries, the trailers, or the Quonset huts.

<sup>18</sup> See Table 2, p. 156.



they necessitate outdoor toilets, each constructed to serve a group of trailers. Thus far only 372 Quonset huts have been allocated to Chicago. Presumably these huts can be heated satisfactorily. The military forces used them extensively, even in Iceland. However, the unusual shape—they look like the upper half of a giant, semisubmerged drainpipe—must create problems for housewives, to whom flat wall spaces are important.

These temporary houses for veterans are not new. All were formerly in use near some war-production center which has now been closed. It is doubtful whether new temporary houses could be built in any great number at present because of the drastic shortage of materials. Hence the projects for veterans are limited pretty much to the used structures that can be obtained from the federal government.

The program of veteran housing initiated by the mayor and the City Council received important help from the Mead resolution<sup>20</sup> adopted by Congress late in December, 1945. This legislation made available \$190,000,000 to move abandoned war housing to communities seeking to provide temporary shelter for veterans. Under this authorization the Federal Public Housing Authority allocates the available structures among the applicant communities, lets the contracts for and bears the costs of demounting, transporting, and re-erecting the houses, pays for connecting the utilities, and is responsible for care of the grass between the buildings and the lot line. The city continues to be responsible for providing the site, for building the main streets and sidewalks, and for installing utilities along the main streets. Thus, except for the five hundred houses originally con-

tracted for, the city has been able to shift most of the costs of the veterans' program to the federal government.<sup>21</sup>

Of course, everyone regrets the situation which has catapulted Chicago into a feverish program of temporary housing. Although the veterans already occupying these houses seem to like them, they deserve something better. Moreover, the money invested in temporary structures contributes nothing to a solution of the city's long-range housing problem. The expenditures are justified only because the present crisis is comparable to a flood in the Ohio River Valley. At such a time, first thoughts are given, not to costs, but to getting immediate shelter over the heads of homeless people. Nevertheless, it is clear that the rental income from these veteran homes will never approximate a sum anywhere near equal to the outlay involved in transporting and re-erecting them.

The most serious objection to the temporary houses, however, is the danger that it may prove difficult to get rid of them. Many communities that have built temporary houses to shelter the victims of floods or earthquakes can give testimony on this point. Long after a community's supply of dwellings has been restored, there is pressure to retain these makeshift buildings, which very rapidly develop into slums. Obviously this hazard is enhanced in a city where the housing market is very tight. Although the C.H.A. definitely plans to demolish the veterans' temporary housing within two or three years, this will clearly not be possible unless an ade-

<sup>21</sup> Public Law No. 341 approved by the President April 12, 1946, appropriated an additional \$253,727,000 to finance the conversion and removal of temporary war housing to communities needing emergency housing for veterans. It is estimated that this sum will produce 102,000 temporary dwellings, mainly by conversion of former military barracks.

<sup>20</sup> Public Law 87 (79th Cong.), Title V.

quate supply of permanent houses is provided in the meantime. Fortunately, up to the present, all these temporary homes have been erected on public land<sup>22</sup> belonging to the city, the school board, the park board, the sanitary district, or the forest preserve. This is an important safeguard. Ultimately these municipal bodies will need for their own purposes the lands they have leased to the C.H.A. for the veterans' houses. Unless the community fails to remedy the housing crisis, these governmental agencies should be able to force demolition within a few years by refusing to renew the leases on the ground.

In February, 1946, a controversy arose which threatened to halt the entire program of temporary housing for veterans. One of the sites selected by the C.H.A. is on a piece of land owned by the School Board in Edison Park. Property owners in the area objected to the erection of this kind of structure in their neighborhood. After conferences failed to resolve the difficulty, the attorney for the property owners sought a temporary injunction. However, the motion for the injunction was denied by the court. At this writing, it seems likely that an appeal may be carried to the Supreme Court. In the meantime, however, the erection of houses can proceed. If the injunction had been granted, almost all the sites selected by the C.H.A. for the veterans' houses would have been jeopardized; in fact, the program, on any realistic kind of scale, would have been practically terminated.

The experience with the property owners in Edison Park underscores one

of the major obstacles encountered in developing public housing projects. Regardless of whether the structures are to be temporary, as in Edison Park, or permanent and beautiful, as at Altgeld Gardens, the selection of a site almost always involves a controversy. Usually the owners of adjacent properties fear that the influx of low-income families will depreciate real estate values in the neighborhood. Sometimes they are moved by prejudices against minority racial or nationality groups who may be eligible for tenancy. Neighborhood institutions often join in opposing the development. If demolition is involved, they think their members and supporters may be scattered far and wide, never to return to the old neighborhood. Doubtless these reactions are to be expected. Perhaps they will be minimized when the new projects can be built chiefly on land now occupied by the most deteriorated slum dwellings, for then the new property would usually by contrast be a genuine neighborhood improvement. But for some time to come the new projects cannot be built exclusively on slum sites. Overcrowding<sup>23</sup> in many of these areas is so great that alternative accommodations could not at present be offered to the dehousing families. Therefore, before extensive demolition can be undertaken, a considerable volume of houses must first be built on land that is now vacant. Then, when some of the surplus population can be transferred from the slums to other accommodations, the great task of demolishing the slums and rebuilding and renovating Chicago's twenty-two square miles of blighted and near-blighted areas can at last be launched.

The development of public housing in Chicago during the past decade far ex-

<sup>22</sup> The funds available to the C.H.A. for the veterans' housing program do not permit the purchase of land or other large outlays. This limits site selection to (a) publicly owned land and to (b) plots requiring minimum outlays for extension of sewers, utilities, etc.

<sup>23</sup> At present the density per acre in some sections of Chicago is greater than in Calcutta, India.

ceeded all that had been accomplished to rehouse low-income families in the entire preceding history of the city. It would require an extraordinary degree of clairvoyance, however, to predict what will be done in the years immediately ahead. Certainly, so long as the real property tax remains the major source of support for essential municipal services, tax-exempt public housing cannot be expanded to meet the needs of all those now ill-housed. The major part of the task must therefore be intrusted to private enterprise. The kind of capital that insists upon quick turnover and speculative profits cannot be depended upon, however, to rebuild slums or to house low-income families. That kind of capital is interested primarily in building for upper- and medium-income groups.

Building for these higher-income groups may result in some "filtering down," but the volume will be much too small to meet the need. Governmental policy should therefore be directed toward the attracting of conservative capital—the kind that wants long-term investments and is willing to accept low interest rates in return for security. An abundance of such capital is available, and present trends suggest that it could be attracted by some form of yield insurance. During the 1930's insurance companies foreclosed on thousands of acres of farm lands and then proceeded, for the most part, to manage them successfully. A decade hence it is to be hoped that many of these companies may be successfully managing houses and apartments built for the lower levels of the medium-income groups. Yield in-

surance would involve some public controls over such matters as density per acre, rent schedules, sanitation, etc., and a ceiling would necessarily have to be placed on net returns from the investment; but, on the other hand, the plan would offer the great compensating advantage to the investor that a certain minimum return per year would be absolutely guaranteed.

But even yield insurance and other measures designed to attract private capital do not hold promise of a total solution. A majority of the lowest-income groups will still be crowded into insanitary hovels unless the program of public housing continues to expand. No one can foretell at present just how much public housing Chicago will ultimately need. The 7,956 dwelling units now available clearly fall far short of meeting the situation. At present the welfare of the community requires that hundreds of units of public housing be erected as rapidly as possible. This expanding program should be accompanied, however, by periodic reappraisals of the housing market. There is urgent need to achieve and then maintain a balance between the demands of the various income groups for decent housing and the supply available to meet these differential requirements. The experiences of recent years have, to a considerable degree, clarified the housing objectives of the community. What Chicago wants is a decent home for every family, privately built and operated if possible—publicly built and subsidized if necessary.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## SOCIAL CASE WORK IN MODERN SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

TODAY want, fear, and hostile feelings give promise of reproducing themselves in an ascending and widening spiral. When and if they again pit man against man, he has at hand for malignant use scientific knowledge and technical devices far beyond those of yesterday. Confronted with the inescapable realization that, as never before, he holds his destiny in the hollow of his hand, man stands on the brink of an abyss. Beyond the chasm he can see that better life for all peoples for which he long has been striving. It stands forth in bold relief. Furthermore, the knowledge and materials for bridging the gap are at hand. What, if anything, is lacking? What—except a clear and confident purpose? Self-distrust and fear bring a yearning for the now idealized past, a flight backward into the conviction that what has been always must be. This way lies self-betrayal and self-destruction. It is indisputable that a global war cannot be repeated. It follows that those conditions of life that beget wars must not persist. Perhaps this present period of transition is unique in that man must not permit the marked repetition of the past which throughout history has characterized transition periods. Civilization is not at another crossroads in which it may again select the familiar, even though the tortuous road, ahead. It is at a jumping-off place. A bridge, a one-way bridge, must be flung quickly and surely across the chasm.

<sup>1</sup> A lecture given in a series on "The Contribution of Social Work to Modern Society," in Cleveland, Ohio, under the joint auspices of Western Reserve University School of Applied Social Sciences and other Cleveland agencies and organizations.

At this decisive time I can discuss one aspect of the profession of social work only on the assumption that this bridge will be built in part through measures implicit in comprehensive and integrated governmental action. Such action must include active participation of the United States in the United Nations to promote social and economic measures that will remove the causes of war and thus check any threat of aggression; a program that will establish a system in which business management, labor, agriculture, and government together provide full employment, full production, and fair employment practices. In this framework it is inevitable that social services and social welfare measures should be brought up to date to assure, when adversity strikes, adequate financial and medical assistance, vocational and educational opportunity to every citizen regardless of race, color, and creed. This would involve many developments such as: the establishment within the federal government of a department of welfare and security under the direction of a cabinet officer; the extension of the coverage of the Social Security program and a substantial liberalization and broadening of unemployment compensation and public assistance; an adequate health program as proposed in the new Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill; and a broadened long-range program of federal aid in the field of education.<sup>2</sup> Unless these events, among others, occur, there will be no profession of social work, and social case work in

<sup>2</sup> James E. Murray, "Plan for America," *New Republic*, Vol. CXIV, No. 3 (January 21, 1946).

modern society will be engrossed in sitting with its ten thumbs and fingers helplessly pressed against the weak spots in a crumbling dike. There would be nothing to say about it beyond what it has been, and that has been said. In adding something new, I could depict only its disintegration. Instead I shall discuss the place of social case work in a society which is concerned to attain the conditions essential for life. In so doing, I shall try to appraise its past and differentiate the vital elements from those that are outworn.

It is necessary that we look at social case work in the context of the profession of which it is a part. The profession of social work is concerned with the creation and development of a democratic society which will afford every individual opportunity for the maximum development of which he is capable. In achieving this purpose, the profession has worked toward two objectives: (1) the reshaping of social and economic institutions which are failing to fulfil their functions and (2) the creating of special services for groups of individuals where needs are not being met. Appropriate measures in the attainment of both these aims long have been the active concern of social work, but those that have fulfilled the second objective have been more peculiarly its province. During the last fifty years, a period during which the social and economic structure gradually has become vestigial, there has been much unmet need. Accordingly social work has developed in the very process of assuming an overwhelming responsibility for the provision of special services for all kinds and conditions of men. Many agencies, varied in nature, have been flung up, sometimes as emergency measures, to become permanent because of continuing need for their function or because

they got frozen into community life. Since unmet need presented itself in the form of innumerable individuals urgently asking for help and since basic social and economic change could not be wrought overnight in times unreceptive to that change, it was a natural development that social case work became a very prevalent and a dominant avenue for the promotion of the welfare of the individual, even though without essential social support it was at times a meager and palliative one. In view also of the dire need on every hand it is not surprising that social case workers, together with many other social workers and philanthropic citizens, became absorbed in the development of more and more programs to administer case-work services or to incorporate these services into other institutions. Today we recognize the limitations of case work; but wherever there are individuals who are unhappy, ineffective, or troublesome—and they are everywhere without reference to class, color, or creed—there is still an urgent demand for “that something” that social case work has to offer to help the individual in need. It is wanted, even though it is wanted in disguise, by another name.

What has social case work to offer, first, to the people whom it serves directly, individual by individual, and, second, to the profession as a whole, which in the last analysis also serves the individual? In social case work we deal with people who are experiencing some breakdown in their capacity to cope unaided with their own affairs. This breakdown may be due primarily to social factors beyond the control of the individual, that is, he is a victim of circumstance such as unemployment, poverty, physical handicap, or illness. The breakdown may, however, be partially, largely, or wholly due to



emotional disturbance, interpsychic conflicts, or mental ineptitude within the individual. He may himself have created his social dilemma, whether it be unemployment, poverty, physical illness, or infringements against the law. In either instance we deal with people who are in trouble, who are having to ask for and take help, and who, regardless of the source of their difficulty, are prone to have disturbed feelings about it.

Furthermore, each individual in his own particular struggle for mental and physical survival has developed characteristic ways of handling his discomfort to the end of diminishing it so that he may live comfortably with it. We have learned that it is how the individual feels about his problem which will determine what he will do about it or what he will permit anyone to help him do about it. We have learned also that his way of handling his discomfort, his way of responding to his problem, will be a decisive factor in his use of help. We know, too, that, even in those instances in which the individual's problem stems primarily from within himself, the social circumstances of his life not only have had a part in creating his difficulty but now will play a significant role in fashioning his response and in determining its present usefulness or futility. This leads us invariably to focus on understanding what purpose an individual's behavior now is serving him in relation to a combination of factors and forces in his life-situation. We who are trained and experienced *know* that we cannot help him deal more competently with his problem unless we render our service differentially in the light of its meaning to him and in relation to the emotional and practical values, in terms of futility or usefulness, of his own solution. This implies a basic understanding of the individual—a pene-

trating insight into the meaning of his behavior.

In spite of the fact that each individual situation is unique, this understanding is aided by knowledge of the meaning which certain social circumstances commonly have for people. In understanding the personality, the social case worker today considers types of experience in relation to common human needs and common ways of responding. How may malnutrition affect personality development? What may be the effects of physical handicap? What may the impact of war mean at different age levels? There is involved here a knowledge derived not only through psychiatry, psychology, and medicine but also through study of the import for the individual of family life, of cultural backgrounds, and of community life. In helping people there is involved not only a knowledge of skills in working with people but also acquaintance with all types of community resources; knowledge of the function of social agencies; knowledge of the individual's rights and recourse under the law; and, finally, skill derived from knowledge and practice in bringing to the service of the individual the resources indicated by the nature of his problem as well as his capacity to use help.

The effective use of these general bodies of knowledge and kinds of skill presupposes the acquisition of a way of thinking and a way of feeling. We long have struggled for an orderly way of thinking which approximates scientific method. The pressure of the client's problem, his urgent need for help, may make necessary action on the basis of a minimum knowledge of the facts. Once embarked, however, there is a continuous attempt to sustain disciplined feeling and hence orderly thinking. This entails a continuous selective exploration of each

case situation for relevant facts; the formulation of significant questions and tentative hypotheses, that is, interpretative statements; the testing of the facts against the interpretation and against the client's response to the help given, to determine need for further inquiry and need for changing treatment emphasis; and the recognition of bias and a continuous awareness of the possibility that our own feelings, prejudices, and convictions may distort what we see, influence our thinking, and dominate our action. There is general recognition of the fact that the social case worker's professional effectiveness cannot be based on an absence of emotional need but instead on self-knowledge and on both an innate and an acquired capacity to control it. In what she has learned in coming to understand herself and to deal objectively with her own response to the impact of the client's demands, needs, and pressures, the social case worker has a contribution to make to the profession as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

Our knowledge and skill in understanding and in helping the individual operates within the context of a consciously controlled professional relationship which also requires both knowledge and skill for proper management. In return this relationship contributes to a deeper understanding of the client as well as to his use of help. It facilitates both the diagnostic and the treatment processes. The essential characteristics of this relationship have been described variously, somewhat as follows: It is a warm rela-

tionship in which the worker "feels into" and with the client without feeling like him. Unlike a personal social relationship, it makes a minimum emotional demand. The worker affords the client a relatively neutral but understanding response. Theoretically this neutrality affords the person a certain immunity, which for many individuals is unique and which gives him a feeling of freedom. What freedom? Supposedly it brings freedom to express what he cannot bring out elsewhere, his hopes which others might ridicule, his aspirations which others might oppose, his unsocial impulses which others might condemn, his hostile impulses which others might taboo or to which they might retaliate. Presumably, then, as he experiences our nonjudgmental response, certain gains may occur, notably:

1. As he gains freedom to bring out negative feelings toward others or fears or aspirations formerly repressed, there may be a release of tension, of the blocking that formerly prevented action in coping with his problem.

2. As he experiences the worker's understanding and acceptance of his complaints, blame of others, frustrated strivings, he may gain courage to face his own part in the problem or to acknowledge his own formerly repressed wishes. *This person to whom he is talking does not condemn wrongdoing, and therefore he can admit to wrongdoing.*

3. As he experiences the worker's understanding of his limitations or his part in the problem, that is, his wrongdoing, he may develop the capacity to understand and to endure the limitations of other people. He may endure the denials implicit in adverse circumstances with less impoverishment of the personality. *As he is given to, he gives, and, having received understanding, he now can give it.*

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of scientific method in social case work see Charlotte Towle, "Underlying Skills of Case Work Today," *Social Service Review*, XV (September, 1941), 456-71 (also in *Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, 1941*, pp. 254-66), and "Some Basic Principles of Social Research in Social Case Work," *Social Service Review*, XV (March, 1941), 66-80.

4. In so far as in these first three steps he has experienced a change in feeling, he begins to *think* differently. At this point he gains insight or is ready to receive it. *Since feelings influence thinking, a change in feeling will bring a change in thinking and hence in action.*

5. As he grows better able to deal realistically with the adverse social circumstances in his life, *one counts on the modifiability of these environmental factors to intrench his gains.* As his behavior toward others changes, *one again counts on the capacity of others to react positively to the change in him.* When this occurs, there may be a quick intrenchment of therapeutic gains.

There has been depicted here the theoretical formula of what has happened sometimes through the talking-through of difficulties in a relationship in which the worker affords the client a neutral but understanding response. Experienced workers know that the relationship must be subject to continual modification in endless variation depending upon the needs of the individual with each changing response. The evidence in some cases indicates that many individuals become confused, anxious, and frustrated through this approach. A precarious generalization as to the reasons for this should not be attempted. The answer must be sought in each individual case, but the impression is that many individuals find this neutral relationship too unsupportive. When drawn into this relationship which withholds approval and disapproval and which leaves them to "find themselves," they are lost. Lacking the capacity to use the freedom to become self-determining, they react with anxiety and many complicated responses. We have learned some ways of dealing with the problematic responses so as to help many clients derive bene-

fit within this kind of relationship.<sup>4</sup> Our urgent concern is one of affording the client a relationship which he can use to some advantage, and this implies a flexible meeting of his need at his particular level of personality organization. We have learned how to be supportive—that is, how to use authority, meet dependency, impose demands, and convey moral judgments in a sustaining way so that the individual may become more self-determining or, at least, less self-destructive in his behavior.<sup>5</sup> Experience has made indisputable the fact that the relationship afforded the client is a decisive component in case-work treatment. We have made considerable headway during the past decade both in the understanding and in the management of this relationship. We have much to learn, and one can expect accelerated progress in this area in the years ahead if case work is practiced under more favorable conditions. But the therapeutic benefits possible through this relationship cannot be realized when the social situation operates against the intrenchment of gains.

In the process of becoming what it is today, social case work has developed certain characteristics and working principles which bespeak its philosophy. Time does not permit comprehensive statement of this philosophy, but the following notable concepts are part and parcel of the feeling, thinking, and doing of every worker who truly represents this field of practice:

First, a deep conviction as to the individual worth of man, which implies that

<sup>4</sup>For discussion of differential treatment relationships see Charlotte Towle, "The Social Worker and the Treatment of Marital Discord Problems," *Social Service Review*, XIV (June, 1940), 211-23.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas M. French and Ralph Ormsby, *Psychoanalytic Orientation in Case Work* (New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1944).

he has a right to survive on satisfying terms with himself and the world. What are satisfying terms? Granted individual difference, by and large his normal wants are: the right to manage his own affairs, which implies the opportunity to learn, the chance to work, the desire to marry and to establish a family. He wants, furthermore, a participating and contributing part in the life of the community. These wants are basic needs; and, when he is denied the requisite opportunities for normal life, he is deeply frustrated, with resultant damage to his personality growth. Accordingly, we know that we help the individual most when we help him to help himself. We know also that unmodifiable adverse social circumstances are decisive and that the tender ministrations of an understanding relationship cannot compensate for basic environment lacks, meager services, and restrictive agency policies.

Second, a conviction that social case work has much to offer in using the strengths of the individual but little to offer in overcoming basic personality weaknesses dedicates us to helping efforts which engage the individual's participation and to rendering services in such a way that he is enabled to make more productive use of his powers in relation to his social situation.

Third, the social case worker emphatically contests the traditional concept that taking help in any form should be made painful in order that pauperization may not ensue and instead maintains that humiliation and pauperization go hand in hand. This principle holds not merely in the rendering of financial assistance but in giving help of all kinds. Impoverishment of the personality must not occur, and this demands that the recipient must not experience humiliation in taking help. We can work most effec-

tively, therefore, in an agency framework in which the policies and procedures enable us to enact our own feeling of respect for the individual we serve.

Fourth, a full acceptance of the importance of the concept of individual difference enables us to separate one individual from another and ourselves from any one of them. Thus in helping we do not impose our wishes, needs, standards, sense of values, but instead we try to understand the individual's wishes and strivings to help him solve his problem in the light of them. We know that social justice implies treating "unequal things unequally," and we find it difficult to be helpful when this is not possible.

Fifth, we understand that, no matter how unusual an individual's behavior or attitudes may seem, they have a rational foundation, a logic. They are something to be understood in the light of his past experience, his present circumstances, and his future aspirations. We turn with him to the past in so far as it is necessary to help him understand the present and plan for the future. Frequently, the individual is so caught in an untenable present and so blocked in his future prospects that he resorts to the past. We know all too well from frustrating experience the limitations of social case work to help the individual who has solved his problem through a deep and satisfying regression. We know also the limitations of social case work in the lives of those people whose social realities prevent them from looking and planning beyond their immediate struggle for survival. We feel a keen sense of inadequacy when often, as we offer help, we cannot bring adequate resources to help them surmount the adverse present. It has been said that helping people plan realistically for the future can serve as a balm for past hurts and as a stabilizing



influence amid the difficulties of the present. The social case worker of the past has had too little experience in helping her clients look beyond the present to the future. This is attested by the fact that, as social workers reach out to understand the meaning of a problem to an individual, they explore the past and the pressures of the present but seldom take into account what the social difficulty has done to those aspirations for the future by which man is motivated and strengthened in the present. If modern society attains conditions essential for life, the social case worker can well rejoice that those whom she helps will no longer be committed to an infantile state of mind, implicit in living precariously from day to day.

Sixth, and finally, we have a professional responsibility to bring the protective resources of our agencies or of the community to the assistance of the person whose basic ineptitudes made it impossible for him to use help resourcefully and to gain the capacity to manage his own affairs. Support and protection instead of rehabilitation are frequently the function of social case work even though wherever possible we aim toward rehabilitation of people rather than merely toward protection. The social-economic structure of the past has made necessary much work of this nature.

It is not a simple matter to summarize the content of "that something" which social case work has to offer which places it in high demand, but perhaps this thumbnail sketch will suffice: A disciplined way of thinking and a disciplined way of feeling derived through knowledge and experience which enables its practitioners to understand the individual in all walks of life at those times when he is not getting along and when his disturbed responses make him least under-

standable to himself and to his fellowmen. A knowledge of what to do and how to do it so that the resources within both the individual and his environment may be used to help him either solve more satisfactorily his human relationship problems or overcome to some extent other difficulties. A knowledge of protective resources and a readiness to serve supportively the individual who is incapable of self-help. An understanding of the individual in relation to his environment, including those agencies and institutions which exist to serve him, which could well be useful to the profession as a whole, and notably to social welfare planning, social welfare administration, and social research.

It is clear today that social case work, in so far as it has been used to help individuals in trouble, has made, in spite of gigantic odds operating against any full realization of its aims, a place for itself in the minds if not always in the hearts of administrators of agencies and of institutions both within and without the field of social work. It is equally clear that its contribution to social welfare planning and social welfare administration still is to be made. Because this is so, many demands for its service have not been realistic. There is small recognition of the conditions under which social case work can function and of its limitations, particularly when it is not an integral part of the program, institution, or agency which it serves.

In the past social case workers, almost without question, have answered any and every demand for their services. Whenever there were individuals under the care of an institution or welfare agency of almost any type and there came a request for case work to assist the individual in his adjustment or to help him use the agency's service more pro-



ductively, there case work has gone like a fireman to a fire. We have learned the hard way that these requests have not always been realistically oriented to what social case work had to offer. We know, too, that it is not always possible to help people in every setting—in fact, that certain conditions are essential for effective service.

A school system establishes a social work service. Many children are not fitting in; they are failing in their work, and/or they present behavior problems of many sorts. This problem may be due to adverse circumstances at home, disturbed relationships in the family, unfavorable influences in the community, ineptitude of teachers in teaching or in child management, or often to the lack of essential educational facilities for certain groups of children. Any one or several of these factors may be operating in a given instance. So great is the need for the kind of understanding which case work can offer the individual child, as well as the teacher or school officials, in understanding him that soon the service is swamped with children referred. The school official may assume erroneously that his responsibility has ended when he has procured a good social service staff. We social workers, too often overwhelmed with pressures, have struggled along, giving a bit of help here and there. Too pressed with the impact of many difficulties and beguiled by the fact that in almost every instance there is some need which we can meet and thus ease a situation or demonstrate our usefulness to the system, we get absorbed in a "pinch-hit" emergency service. This way lies defeat of our professional aims and the waste of an invaluable service. Some of these staffs have learned that they must limit intake to the extent that it is always possible

carefully to think through each case situation. Among the array of problems presented they painstakingly try to discover the primary difficulty and then realistically to assume the responsibility of enlisting the co-operation of others in its solution. Often this involves making known lacks in educational facilities and obstructive measures in the school regime. In such instances the social worker's responsibility lies in making case-work limitations known and in revealing the educational treatment issue. Fear of admitting case-work limitations has led to much misguided leadership. It takes the security afforded through genuine competence and professional conviction to withdraw from service in those instances in which our contribution is not of decisive importance. Instead, out of our humanitarian readiness to help in small ineffectual ways, often we continue to assume responsibility for the case, thus making it possible for others to evade basic issues. As long as we are *doing something*, others comfortably may evade doing *the things that matter*. If we could have been more realistically oriented to our own limitations, there might now be more social workers in schools. In this setting social workers are in a strategic position to render preventative help to children in making known unmet needs not only within the schools but also within the community. Engaged in collaborative work with educators, we have the opportunity to learn much about the child as well as to contribute to the educator's understanding of the part played by family life and social conditions in his learning response. During the years of the great depression, social work was discarded as a "frill" because it had not become an integral part of the educational systems which it served. Today we are being wanted anew. There is no

more important place for the preventative contribution of the social case worker in modern society than in public schools.<sup>6</sup> It is essential that we do not repeat the past but, instead, that we become an integral part of the educational program. This implies that, in order to fulfil our own important function, we place elsewhere, squarely and decisively, the responsibility that belongs elsewhere.

There has been a long history of the use of social case work in correctional agencies. That there is a need for what case work has to offer on the part of the individuals concerned is clear. When case work is administered within the framework of an authoritative system, it is obvious that it must use that system. We cannot escape it by identifying with the client against the correctional agency. Instead we must help him in such a way that the demands of society, as conveyed through a correctional agency, may become sufficiently desirable that he himself regulates his behavior. When these regimes are destructively restrictive, when they are administered by people who are harshly punitive and who lack respect for the individuals they serve, that is, when everything is done to defeat the aims of a rehabilitation program, then case workers are driven either to reject the agency or to defend it blindly. In either instance confident, resourceful, and creative service is obstructed. Until many correctional institutions are changed, case workers will find it difficult if not impossible to give what case work has to offer within their authoritative framework.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Smalley, "The School Social Worker and the Social Development of the Child," *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1945*, pp. 284-93.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth L. M. Pray, "The Place of Social Case Work in the Treatment of Delinquency," *Social Service Review*, XIX (June, 1945), 235-44,

Social case work belongs in public assistance programs both as a preventative and as a remedial measure. Economic need is both cause and effect of a whole gamut of human ills. In a money economy loss of financial resources and application for assistance can immediately affect the individual's capacity to deal with his everyday affairs. It can modify drastically his opportunities for physical, intellectual, and emotional development. Changes implicit in his need for financial assistance may alter his status and role in the family group as well as in the community. The catastrophes of life which bring people under the care of these agencies inevitably cause emotional disturbance. How the person feels about the difficulty created, as well as how he feels about the help given, will determine his use of the assistance. Frequently rehabilitation or pauperization are at stake, not only in the adequacy of the services rendered but also in the way they are rendered. It is for this reason that the knowledge, understanding, and skills of the social case worker are needed throughout the administration of these programs—from the initial service of helping the applicant establish eligibility through all the other services indicated in individual instances. On the assumption that in modern society there will be a substantial liberalization and broadening of public assistance together with a more adequate health program and extended educational opportunities, social case work should have a greater opportunity than in the past to make real the purposes of these programs. In this premodern era in which we await important changes, it can be said only that trained case workers in public as-

and "Discussion," by Charlotte Towle, *ibid.*, pp. 245-46.

sistance have been nourished largely by their stirring conviction rather than by the realization of their aims. Many factors have negated what case work has to offer, notably: inadequate financial assistance, grossly deficient in many areas; case loads so large that individualization based on knowing the person and understanding the differential factors in his situation has been impossible; statutory provisions inherited from the past and agency policies colored by outmoded conceptions of what is good for individuals and for society; reliance on such devices as unrestricted money payments to enact respect for human right without respect for the human personality. All these factors combine against social case work. For example, in many instances there is a lack of realization that a person who is granted his statutory rights to far less than he needs will feel that his rights as a human being have been violated. Also there has been oversight of the fact that the aged and disabled person who needs help in management may be failed by a ritualistic adherence to the concept of "right to be self-determining." It is clear that many administrators have not used the understanding available to them through their case-work staffs for guidance on what administrative provisions and policies are doing to people as well as failing to do for them. There has been a tendency in some administrators to let the recipient bear the brunt of the community's ill-grounded fears and expensive superstitions rather than to deal with those attitudes through interpretation of the cost of unmet human need to the community. These factors among others have starved many well-qualified social case workers out of the public assistance services, and they will continue to do so as long as agency provisions and policies are shaped by the

ambivalent attitudes of society rather than by the needs of the recipient. Many examples could be given of agencies other than these cited wherein the administration with its right hand obstructs or undermines the efforts of its own left hand occupied in case-work services. Examples could be given also of situations in which the right hand keeps the left hand busy. Unsound administrative policies can grind grist for the mill of the case worker.

In response to extensive demand case work has been blown to the four winds in the past several years. Well-established social services have been deserted by workers who have scattered to a great variety of new settings. We have been spread as thin as human need is widespread. Can we serve individuals best in a few focal points or should we try to meet their need wherever it presents itself? It seems clear that we cannot function competently everywhere and that the time has come for deciding where we shall serve. In making these decisions, we may find the following considerations useful.

First, the function of the agency is important. Does it exist in order to promote the welfare of the individual whom it serves, as in the case of social agencies, schools, and hospitals? Or does it exist to serve other ends? If so, is case work wanted primarily for the good of the administration rather than for the good of the recipient of the service. In the latter instance, can the setting sustain work oriented to the needs of the individual, i.e., respect for his right to be self-determining; protection where rehabilitation is not possible; maintenance of the confidential relationship so that his confidences are not used against him. For example, in the light of these questions is industry a setting in which social

case work can be practiced or should industries use extra-mural social agencies?

Second, the structure of the agency is a decisive factor. Granted an avowed social welfare purpose, are the agency's policies, regulations, and provisions so constituted as to express respect for the worth of the individual, that is, understanding, acceptance of individual difference, and a desire to help him help himself or to protect him against himself. Do they instead belie the social welfare purpose and express disregard for the worth of the individual in harsh judgment and an inclination to humiliate, deprive, or punish him. In the latter instance, how ready is the administrative staff to work for change in agency structure? Is case work wanted to compensate the individual, to make amends, and to ease hurts inflicted by the service, or is it wanted for what it can contribute to the total agency's understanding of how to realign its services in the interests of the recipient? The social case worker has labored all too long in futile attempts at helping the individual feel better on an empty stomach. She has slaved all too long at easing secondary problems while primary ones persist and are aggravated further by a depriving or authoritative regime whose care or supervision necessity drives the individual to endure.

It is hoped that in modern society the knowledge and understanding derived through social case work will be used to the utmost in social welfare planning and social welfare administration. In the past its contribution to individuals has been obstructed at the administrative level. This has been a mutual failure which need not persist. Just as it is the case worker's responsibility to convey widespread need which is not being met to those at the agency's helm, so it is the administrator's responsibility to make it

possible for her not to be wholly absorbed in case situations. This implies not merely a manageable case load, but also that administrators expect case-work staffs to habituate themselves to inquiring of their case loads: What do these cases say in terms of common needs in relation to agency function? Wherein have we failed to fulfil our function or wherein should our function be changed? Wherein do our procedures and routines fulfil our function or obstruct it? *Case workers are in a position to test out and observe the ways in which the agency works or fails to work.* In modern society the attainment of this kind of integration of case work and administration will mean that case workers will be trained to become competent administrators of case-work programs.<sup>8</sup> Implicit in this discussion is the relationship between social case work, social research, and community organization. We long have been criticized for not having systematically made known our findings in order that new community resources might be developed and existent ones co-ordinated for more effective service. Social case work and community organization are interdependent. This implies systematic records designed in advance for social research and oriented to community welfare needs.<sup>9</sup> It implies also that salary scales and prestige values be adjusted so that experienced case workers remain in practice rather than move on to supervisory and administrative positions. Whether the social case worker in modern society assumes this important responsibility will depend in the last

<sup>8</sup> Charlotte Towle, "Professional Skill in Administration," *Newsletter of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*, Vol. X, No. 1 (May, 1940).

<sup>9</sup> Wayne McMillen, *Community Organization for Social Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).



analysis on administrative conviction and policy. Only through leadership at the administrative level and the provision of means to this end can it be attained and the case worker's understanding of individual needs used in community welfare planning.

One educator has stated:

We need to develop an adequate supply of men and women with a broad perspective, a sound analytical approach, and a deep emotional interest in promoting the welfare of human beings who will apply their talents to social research. What is required is much more than courses on statistical methods and techniques of research. The real problem is to develop people who know what questions to ask and how to go about getting the answers.<sup>10</sup>

The continuous attempt to sustain orderly thinking and disciplined feeling demanded in social case work should make it essential groundwork for social research. The social case worker's way of thinking through a case *ideally* in all instances and *actually* in many instances is essentially the same as the research worker's method in studying a situation. Furthermore, the case worker's training and experience in the management of professional relationships in which she has learned to understand and to deal objectively with her own response as well as to help the client express his thinking and feeling would seem to have a direct carry-over to interviewing in the research situation. One cannot teach research workers interviewing techniques with which to extract *valid* information from people whom they do not understand or to draw valid inferences from the data thus obtained. The informant's response speaks a language of its own, which should be meaningful to the worker well grounded in the knowledge,

understanding, and skill which the social case worker possesses. In spite of this fact, case work has not made a significant contribution in social research. Many factors have operated against this contribution, notably: absorption in service; the emphasis in case work on the uniqueness of each individual situation; professional education which in many instances has been highly specialized and fragmentary; and, finally, operating as a deterrent, the case worker's awareness of subjective factors in her work. Today there is wider recognition at the administrative level of the importance of research as a basis for intelligent service. There is recognition also of the absolute necessity for broad professional education rather than for narrow specialization. Through knowledge acquired gradually and applied painstakingly over the years, we social case workers are better prepared than formerly to think comparatively from case to case and to formulate general concepts with which to view specific instances. We are now more ready to raise significant questions. Furthermore, our fear of subjective factors can be expected to diminish as we become more competent in the management of professional relationship.<sup>11</sup>

In modern society there will be important problems to solve in our working relationship with other professions. In the past the great proportion of work in which case workers have been engaged has been in helping people with social

<sup>10</sup> Eveline M. Burns, "Reconversion and Its Implications for the Schools of Social Work," *Social Service Review*, XIX (June, 1945), 199.

<sup>11</sup> For the place of social case work in social research see Robert T. Lansdale, "Research as a Major Function of a Private Social Agency," *Social Service Review*, XVI (December, 1942), 641-49; Richard C. Cabot, M.D., "Treatment in Social Case Work and the Need of Criteria and of Tests of Its Success or Failure" (presidential address), *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1931; Gordon Hamilton, *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 371.



problems. Since all these problems have been disturbing to the individual emotionally, we have had a rich experience in understanding feelings and in helping individuals modify their attitudes. The focus of our work has been largely, however, on those feelings immediately operative in the solution of the problem. Gradually over the years we have increasingly been dealing with people whose emotional difficulties have not centered around external problems so much as within themselves. Accordingly, a good many social workers have had considerable experience in direct treatment through the interview of psychological problems. In many areas there has been a close working relationship with psychiatrists. During the depression years there was a marked increase in this activity, owing in part to internalization of emotional disturbance that occurred when the individual could not cope with adverse social circumstances. The increase was due also to a tendency on our part to resort to this treatment because the usual social-treatment resources had broken down. In such instances our efforts often were futile in terms of the client's good. Out of the experience, however, we have learned a great deal. During these same years there was a marked widening of the client group. Starting prior to World War I, at the point where social case work moved out from relief-giving agencies to hospitals, clinics, and schools, there has been an upward trend in the number of individuals and families served who were not in the economically dependent group. For some years many of these people have been served in private family agencies, psychiatric clinics, and other social services. The present trend toward "fee charging" for social case-work services in some agencies and clinics is indicative of

the change in economic status of the group served. The recent war, just as World War I, has brought large numbers of people from all walks of life into social case-work services. Likewise the number of individuals who are in need of help because of emotional difficulties which produce social problems presumably has mounted not only through wider recognition but also through higher incidence. The work of the social case worker in this area closely approximates that of the psychiatrist. With the marked shortage of psychiatrists to meet present demands, there is a definite trend toward extending to the social case worker much responsibility for treatment which formerly would have fallen to the psychiatrist both in public and in private practice. There are many problems in this area of work which await solution.

First, there is the careful consideration of the demands of this work. Does the case worker have less to offer than the psychiatrist, and is she being drawn into it primarily because of the shortage of well-trained psychiatrists? Or does case-work training and experience fit her admirably for this responsibility? Does she have something to offer not brought to the situation by the psychiatrist? If so, this is a valid field of endeavor for social case workers. It should follow that she will be accorded a legitimate place in this aspect of practice. If, however, she is used to fill a gap in "pinch-hit" fashion, then it is important that her function be clearly differentiated from the psychiatrist and that the profession of social work continue to assume responsibility only for her social work function. It should not assume responsibility through schools of social work for the training of makeshift psychiatrists.

Second, it is important that training requisite for competent performance in

this area be formulated if this responsibility is assumed. Training should not be left to *chance* association with a psychiatrist who is willing to assume responsibility for teaching the social worker.

Third, there should be avoidance of recourse to psychotherapy when other measures are indicated. In this pre-modern period we do not yet know the effects of the modern way of life.<sup>12</sup>

In modern society there will be many important problems to solve in order to effect the change depicted here and as a result of those changes which occur. Were conditions previously described as being essential for life to become a reality overnight, it might be concluded that there would be little if any need for social case work. Actually there still would be great need. First, because, under the most favorable social-economic system, disaster often is not timed to the person's readiness to meet it practically or to assimilate it emotionally. Second, because it can be expected that the new world of social security and opportunity will be lived in and used by people who may not immediately make the most of it. When people attain a new way of life, they do not cut off abruptly from the past. They bring the past into the present, and, therefore, the new conditions favorable to growth will be used slowly.<sup>13</sup> One might say that the major difference between yesterday and today probably will lie in the fact that, for the first time

<sup>12</sup> Maxwell Gitelson, M.D., "The Community and the Emotional Needs of the Returning Soldier," *Social Service Review*, XIX (March, 1945), 93-95.

<sup>13</sup> For a picture of a troubled population from several angles see Lee R. Steiner, *Where Do People Take Their Troubles?* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945); Roy R. Grinker and John C. Spiegel, *Men under Stress and War Neuroses* (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Sons Co., 1945); St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945); John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941).

in its history, social case work can begin to serve people with some chance of enacting its ideology and realizing its aims. It is beyond the writer's scope to envisage fully the exact place of social case work in the new order or to foretell the many problems which await solution. One problem which we may consider now, because it has begun to cast its shadow, is that of an increased demand for direct treatment of people with serious emotional difficulties. In those settings where social case workers are less wholly absorbed in helping people who are the victims of adverse circumstance through services which aim to modify external conditions, we are encountering many individuals whose problems are clearly identifiable as deeply internalized, long-standing emotional difficulties. Many of these people are beyond help, while others will be able to make some use of it, provided social case workers in larger numbers receive the training which qualifies them for this work. Important will be our own efforts to extend our services in the early stages of the individual's social difficulty. Preventative work rather than remedial measures increasingly must be our aim. This will make necessary deliberate efforts of many kinds, among which there could well be careful selection of strategic settings and public programs which extend case-work services apart from financial assistance. To some extent this development may occur naturally, for a deepened social conscience can be anticipated as a logical outgrowth of a more socialized system. In modern society we can anticipate a wider and a more genuine acceptance of help for disadvantaged groups and for *all* individuals who need it. As our cultural resistance to obtaining help is lowered, individuals may seek it early rather than late because social at-

titudes will permit them to regard it as evidence of strength rather than of weakness.

In considering the place of social case work in modern society, I have emphasized its contribution to the field of social work as a whole because of a deep conviction that it cannot go forward alone. It is only as it becomes an integral part of the profession of social work, serving and being served by social welfare administration, community organization, and social research, that it will attain its own aims in decent measure. The capacity of case workers to function in this interdependent relationship will depend on professional education in modern society. In this connection, it is clear that social case work must have a vital place in a comprehensive curriculum for all social workers.<sup>14</sup>

There is general recognition of the fact that man's mastery of nature, in the form

<sup>14</sup> Edith Abbott, *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (rev. and enl. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) and *Twenty-one Years of University Education for Social Service, 1920-41* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); Gordon Hamilton, "Planning for the Future in Schools of Social Work," *Social Service Review*, XVIII (June, 1944), 145-51.

of scientific discoveries and technological achievement, "has proved a curse rather than a blessing in the hands of men ignorant of their own personalities and of human relationships."<sup>15</sup> It has been said that social work has its distinctive contribution "to understand the interaction of external pressures and internal strains in person-to-person, person-to-group, and person-to-situation adjustments, [that is,] scientific understanding of the psycho-social quality in all human relationships."<sup>16</sup> As we move into an era in which the gap between the natural and the social sciences will be bridged, it can be expected that the profession of social work will have a decisive contribution to make and that it will therefore become an integral part of the social structure rather than the adjunct it has been in the past. Social case work must find its responsible place within the profession, in relation to other professional fields and within society.

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<sup>15</sup> Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942).

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton, "Planning for the Future in Schools of Social Work," *op. cit.*, p. 149.

## THE ILLINOIS PROGRAM FOR EDUCATING HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MARY ZAHROBSKY

THE general principle that all children should be given an opportunity to receive a free education in a public school is one that has been accepted in theory by the American states, even though in practice there are still many children, especially those who are physically or mentally handicapped, whose right to an education is frequently disregarded.

Physical handicaps should not deprive children of academic training or of a chance to develop what talents and capacities they have. To do so is a short-sighted policy which adds to the burdens of society if the handicapped person, because he lacks an education, becomes socially maladjusted and economically unproductive. As the director of the Illinois program of education of exceptional children points out: "The wise state finds it better policy to spend money and effort in helping the handicapped child to reach his maximum possible development and self-sufficiency than to neglect his training and relegate him to a life of dependency."<sup>1</sup>

Special educational facilities in the local public schools should therefore be provided for children who are blind, visually defective, deaf, hard-of-hearing, crippled, or suffering from a chronic illness or some other type of defect that prevents their deriving the greatest possible benefit from their instruction in a regular class. Mentally defective children

who are educable also require special training within the limits of their capacities, if they are to become assets and not liabilities to the community. While the idea of providing special educational services to physically and mentally handicapped children has been accepted for many years, similar services for socially maladjusted children are relatively new. There is, however, a growing conviction among educators and other interested individuals that children who give evidence of emotional instability or behavior problems are just as much in need of special and individual treatment as are the physically and mentally handicapped. It is believed that if problem children are given the special attention they need, many could achieve a more satisfactory adjustment not only in school but also at home and in the community. Admittedly, a special educational program cannot provide new homes or new community environments, but it can do much to change the child's attitude toward, and his response to, the unfavorable conditions affecting his life outside the school.

Special facilities and services designed to help physically, mentally, and socially handicapped children to adjust to the community and to prepare them for work within their limitations are feasible. In rural areas special educational provisions are not so easily established, unless several school districts join in such a project to provide transportation for those pupils who could not otherwise get to the center where such special facilities are maintained. Other possibilities of

<sup>1</sup> Ray Graham (ed.), *The Illinois Plan for Exceptional Children: The Physically Handicapped* ("Circular Series A," No. 12) (Springfield: Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1944), p. 6.

meeting the educational needs of handicapped children in rural areas is by means of traveling teachers and by the appointment of special supervisors to give assistance and guidance to the local teachers. Still another possibility, used successfully in some states, is that of foster-home placement in urban centers where special facilities are maintained.

While the obligation of providing educational opportunities for the handicapped child rests with the local community, the state should share in the program by taking a position of leadership, by offering consultation services on such matters as curriculum and qualifications of teachers, and by helping to meet the excess costs of the specialized educational programs. Only when local resources are not available or when handicapped children fail to make an adjustment in a special class while living in their own home or foster-home should placement of the child in a residential school be considered.

Illinois, like most states, first approached the problem of educating handicapped children by providing a state residential school for certain handicapped children, specifically the deaf, the blind, the feeble-minded, and the delinquent. This plan seemed most feasible at a time when there were few such children and these few were scattered throughout the state. In time, however, as the state became more populous and the number of handicapped children began to increase, there developed the philosophy that the majority of handicapped children should be educated in day schools as close to their own communities as possible, in order to enable them to remain in their own homes, where family contacts could be maintained and where daily association with normal children would be possible. The

adjustment to community life of children who had grown up in a family, it was found, was much better than that of children subjected to a long period of institutionalization.

To encourage local school districts to establish special classes for the so-called exceptional children, Illinois, along with some twenty other states, had by 1945 enacted legislation providing for state aid to meet the excess cost of educating at least one of the several types of handicapped children in the public schools.<sup>2</sup> Because the cost of educating such children is considerably more than that of normal children, not only because expensive equipment and supplies frequently are necessary but also because specially trained teachers are essential, it is becoming a generally accepted conviction that the state should contribute toward the expenditures that are incurred.

The history of Illinois legislation designed to encourage local school districts to provide special educational opportunities for handicapped children and the extent to which this enabling legislation has been utilized is briefly reviewed in the subsequent sections. As will be evident, the approach has been piecemeal, first one group and then another being singled out for special services. Administration of these laws has also been far from uniform. Not until 1945 were the several laws pertaining to the special education of handicapped chil-

<sup>2</sup> California, Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. See Elise H. Martens, *State Supervisory Programs for the Education of Exceptional Children* (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1940, No. 6) (Washington, 1942), pp. 8-9, and "State Legislation for Exceptional Children," *School Life*, XXVII (November, 1945), 3-6.



dren consolidated into a single act and administrative authority vested entirely in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Prior to that time the Department of Public Welfare had also been assigned certain duties.

#### THE DEAF AND THE HARD-OF-HEARING

The first group of handicapped children to whom Illinois extended special educational opportunities were the deaf, for whom a residential school was founded in 1839.<sup>3</sup> From 1846, when the school was actually opened, until 1875 this school was the only one in the state which had facilities for the education of deaf children. In the latter year the Board of Education of Chicago opened a day class for deaf children and thus achieved the honor of being one of the first cities to do so.<sup>4</sup> Other classes were established in Chicago after 1879, when the General Assembly began periodically to appropriate varying amounts to the Chicago Board of Education for the support of these classes, which were to be open to deaf children of school age from any part of the state.<sup>5</sup>

As the success of the day classes in Chicago became known, parents in other communities desired similar opportunities for their deaf children; and in 1897,

<sup>3</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1838-39*, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *American Annals of the Deaf*, LXX (January, 1925), 13.

<sup>5</sup> In 1879 the General Assembly appropriated \$15,000 from the state treasury "as a donation for the benefit of and to be used in the support and maintenance of the School for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children, located in Chicago, and now under the management and control of the Board of Education of Chicago." This amount was reduced to \$5,000 in 1881. After 1883, when the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated, no further aid was given until 1897, when a general act, empowering school districts managed by boards of education or directors to establish and maintain classes for the deaf in public schools, authorized payment for such classes from the common school fund (*Laws of Illinois, 1879*, p. 20; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 28; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 11).

in response to a petition of a group of parents, the General Assembly enacted a law enabling local school districts to maintain classes for the instruction of the deaf if there were at least three students between the ages of three and twenty-one years in attendance.<sup>6</sup> State aid in the amount of \$150 for each pupil who was instructed in the class nine months of the school year was provided. This money was to be paid out of the common school fund. To insure the appointment of properly trained teachers, the act specified that the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who was vested with the right of making all such appointments upon the application of the local school district, was to appoint only persons who had obtained a teacher's certificate as provided by law and who had had special preparation in the teaching of the deaf for a term of not less than a year. The important question of state supervision was ignored, except that the Superintendent of Public Instruction was authorized to get annual reports and such facts concerning classes for the deaf as he might require.

This law apparently was looked upon by local public school districts as an infringement of their autonomy, for it was repealed eight years later (1905).<sup>7</sup> The law which took its place made no provision for state financial assistance or for state supervision, although it did maintain the same standards of teacher-training. State aid was reintroduced in 1911,<sup>8</sup> but effective state supervision did

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1897*, p. 290. This law as well as those of 1905 and 1911 did not cover all local school districts, including only those controlled by boards of education or school directors. Since 1923, boards of school inspectors, whether acting under general law or under a special charter, have also been empowered to establish and maintain special classes for the deaf (*Laws of Illinois, 1923*, p. 611).

<sup>7</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1905*, p. 373.

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1911*, p. 502.

not come until about thirty years later. Instead of a lump-sum grant from the common school fund, the law of 1911 made provision for the payment from the state treasury of an amount not exceeding \$110 a year per child for the excess cost of operating a special class for deaf children. This amount was increased to \$225 in 1941,<sup>9</sup> when for the first time the hard-of-hearing were specifically included, and to \$300 in 1945,<sup>10</sup> when deaf children and those with defective hearing were included within the definition of "physically handicapped children" instead of being classed as a separate group.

Beginning in 1911, when state aid was reinstituted, state supervisory responsibility over classes for the deaf was divided between two state authorities, the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the welfare department. Supervision of the educational aspects of the classes was vested in the Superintendent of Public Instruction, while the checking of claims for reimbursement was assigned to the welfare authority, where this responsibility rested until 1945, when responsibility for all phases of the program of special education was centralized in the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The eligibility of pupils for admission to special classes for the deaf and hard-of-hearing has changed but slightly since the first law was passed in 1897. The age limits are still three to twenty-one years, but since 1941 the law has specified that such children must be of sound mind. There is no limit on the minimum number of children who must form a class in order to assure the school district's receiving state aid. To enable children to

benefit from classes established in school districts other than their own, the law has since 1929 permitted the payment of tuition and transportation costs.

Although legal provisions permitting local school districts to establish and maintain special educational facilities for children with defective hearing have been on the statute-books for almost half a century, relatively few communities outside of Chicago have taken advantage of these provisions. For example, during the school year 1939-40, the year for which comparable statistics with other states are available, only six cities<sup>11</sup> in the state reported having special facilities for educating deaf or hard-of-hearing children. Of the 763 children attending these classes, 704, or 93 per cent, were in Chicago.

That a great many more children with hearing defects need special educational services is revealed by the findings of a hearing-test project conducted by the Works Projects Administration in the late 1930's. By 1940 approximately 389,000 children had been given tests, of whom 224,000 lived outside Chicago. Almost 7 per cent of these children were found to have hearing defects, including 1.6 per cent with defects sufficiently serious to require attention, both medically and educationally.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of these findings, it has been estimated that there are at least 12,000 children in the state who should be receiving the benefits of a modified educational program which should include individual hearing

<sup>11</sup> Chicago (704), Joliet (9), Moline (11), Peoria (7), Rockford (22), and Winnetka (10). See Elise H. Martens and Emery M. Foster, *Statistics of Special Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children* (U.S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40) (Washington, 1942), pp. 28-41.

<sup>12</sup> Lawrence Linck, "Physically Handicapped Children in Illinois," *Educational Press Bulletin*, May, 1941, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Laws of Illinois 1941*, p. 1167.

<sup>10</sup> *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1945* (State Bar Association ed.), chap. 122, sec. 12-26.

aids and supplementary help in lip-reading.<sup>13</sup>

Although, prior to 1940, classes for deaf and hard-of-hearing children had not developed so rapidly as might be desired, compared with twenty-nine other states which by 1940 had established such classes, Illinois stands very near the top. That year it ranked fifth in the number of pupils who were enrolled in special classes conducted by the public schools. Only California, Indiana, Massachusetts, and New York reported a larger number of pupils attending day classes, Massachusetts taking the lead with 2,038.<sup>14</sup>

Since 1940 Illinois has made a little more progress in providing special classes for children with defective hearing, especially since 1941, when the maximum reimbursement was increased to \$225 a year. State reports indicate that during the school year 1944-45 some fifteen Illinois cities were providing special educational advantages to 769 deaf and hard-of-hearing pupils, of whom 80 per cent were in Chicago.<sup>15</sup> With the leadership which is now being given by the director of education of exceptional children in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and with the max-

imum reimbursement increased to \$300, further expansion in these classes can be anticipated. The state director is co-operating with the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children, the Division of Services for Crippled Children, and the Chicago Society for the Hard of Hearing in pointing out to parents and to school boards the advantages of special classes for children whose hearing is so impaired that it is impossible for them to benefit from the normal classroom program without special help.

#### THE BLIND AND VISUALLY HANDICAPPED

The second group of handicapped children for whom special educational facilities were extended by the state of Illinois were the blind. Like the majority of other states, Illinois organized its first program for the education and training of the blind around a state residential school, which was incorporated in 1849.<sup>16</sup> Up until 1900, the Illinois School for the Blind was the only school in the state which provided a free education for visually handicapped children. The idea of conducting day classes for the blind which would make possible their association with sighted persons had been suggested by Samuel Gridley Howe, the pioneer educator of the blind in the United States, as early as 1872, but it was not until twenty-two years later that a special class in a public school actually was established. To Chicago belongs the honor of taking the initial step in 1900.<sup>17</sup> So successful was the experiment that by 1922 some forty-four cities in twelve states had established similar classes.<sup>18</sup>

To help the Chicago Board of Education (as well as other school districts which might initiate special classes for

<sup>13</sup> The estimate of 12,000 corresponds closely with the estimate of 11,594 by the Superintendent of Public Instruction who in 1940 conducted a limited survey of the various types of exceptional children in the state who needed special educational facilities (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

<sup>14</sup> Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished data supplied by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The nine cities which had established special classes for deaf and hard-of-hearing children since 1940 were: Aurora (which had had classes previously), Champaign, Chicago Heights, Elgin, Elmhurst, Evanston, Ottawa, River Forest, and Waukegan. The relatively small increase in the number of children receiving special instruction is due to the fact that Chicago was providing special service for a hundred children less in 1944-45 than it has been in 1939-40.

<sup>16</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1849*, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> "Blind," *Encyclopaedia Americana*, IV, 83.

<sup>18</sup> Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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the education of the blind and partially seeing) defray the expense of maintaining special classes for the visually defective, a law was passed by the General Assembly in 1911 providing state support of these classes in an amount not to exceed \$160 a year per child.<sup>19</sup> Supervision of the classes was vested in the Superintendent of Public Instruction. While this law was a step in the right direction, it was defective in that it was not applicable to all school districts and that it set no qualifications for teachers' training. The first defect was corrected in 1923, when legislation was passed extending to all school districts the right to establish Braille or sight-saving classes;<sup>20</sup> while the second was corrected in 1929, when the law was amended to provide that only specially trained teachers were to be employed.<sup>21</sup> Another improvement in the law of 1929 was that the maximum grant for the excess cost of providing special classes for the blind and visually handicapped was increased to \$250 a year per child. This amount went up to \$300 in 1945, when a uniform rate of repayment was adopted for all types of physically handicapped children.<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly enough, legislation permitting local school districts to set up Braille and sight-saving classes originally set no limits on the ages of the children who could be admitted to such classes. Not until 1929 did the law state that the classes were to be established for the benefit of children between the ages of three and twenty-one, and not until 1941

did it provide that they had to be of sound mind.<sup>23</sup> Unlike early statutory provisions relating to the special education of deaf children in the public schools, no limitation was ever set on the number of visually defective children who had to be in attendance in order to qualify the local school district for state reimbursement.

Supervisory responsibility for Braille and sight-saving classes, like those for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, was divided between the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Department of Public Welfare, the former being charged with the supervision of the educational aspects of the local programs and the latter being made responsible for financial matters. This division in responsibility was finally eliminated in 1945, when the various laws pertaining to the education of all types of exceptional children were brought together into a single law and administrative responsibility was centered in the Superintendent of Public Instruction.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the existence since 1911 of legislation extending state aid to local public schools for the special education of blind and visually defective children living in their communities, little use was made of this aid prior to 1929. At that time, only the city of Chicago was regularly participating in the state grant-in-aid program.

After 1929, however, owing largely to the efforts of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, which began to conduct sight-saving surveys in downstate areas, special classes for the partially sighted began to spring up in various parts of the state. As a result, at the end of the school year 1939-40

<sup>19</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1911*, p. 502.

<sup>20</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1923*, p. 611. This law included school districts under the management of school inspectors in addition to those managed by boards of directors and boards of education.

<sup>21</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1929*, p. 735.

<sup>22</sup> *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1945*, chap. 122, sec. 12-26.

<sup>23</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1941*, p. 1167.

<sup>24</sup> *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1945*, chap. 122, secs. 12-20 to 12-30.



there were twenty-five Illinois cities and towns maintaining sight-saving classes. Well over half the approximately 1,000 children enrolled in such classes were attending schools outside Chicago.<sup>25</sup>

That other visually handicapped children could profit from a modified school program is indicated by the findings of the W.P.A. eye-testing project, which was carried on under the supervision of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness. During the school year 1939-40 some 330,000 school children were given eye tests. Of this number, a tenth were found to have defective vision, including approximately 2,700 with serious eye defects.<sup>26</sup> It is this latter group that is generally considered as needing sight-saving class instruction and for whom special facilities should be provided but whose disabilities were not receiving any special consideration.

It should, however, be pointed out that Illinois is far ahead of most states in this field of endeavor. During the school year 1939-40, when sight-saving classes were in operation in twenty-eight states, only two—New York and Ohio—had a larger number of blind and partially seeing children enrolled in public-school classes.<sup>27</sup> Since 1940, sight-saving classes have been established in ten more cities, so that by June, 1945, there were eighty-

six classes in thirty-five cities.<sup>28</sup> But all seventeen of these classes were in elementary schools, which means that visually handicapped adolescents who go on to high school either have to adapt themselves to the program which is designed for seeing pupils or have to enter the sight-saving class for high-school students at the Illinois School for the Blind.

The position of leadership which Illinois holds in this field can be largely attributed to the efforts of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, which enlists the interest of parents and school boards in the establishment of sight-conservation classes and has been successful in obtaining increased appropriations from the General Assembly for this purpose. It is at present working closely with the director of exceptional children in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, so that even greater advances can be expected in the future.

#### CRIPPLED CHILDREN

Unlike the education of deaf and blind children in Illinois, special facilities for the education of crippled children began in a day school rather than in an institution.<sup>29</sup> The honor of providing the first

<sup>25</sup> The ten additional cities to which the state was making payments for the excess cost of educating children with defective vision included: Centralia, Chicago Heights, East Peoria, Elmhurst, Harrisburg, Mount Vernon, Murphysboro, Ottawa, Sterling, and West Frankfort. Unpublished data compiled by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

<sup>29</sup> Since 1930 the state has maintained the Illinois Surgical Institute for Children, which is located in Chicago. This is primarily a hospital for the surgical care of indigent crippled children under sixteen years of age, although educational classes and bedside teachers are provided by the Board of Education of Chicago. A pioneering venture upon which Illinois has embarked is the Hospital School for Severely Physically Handicapped Children, which was established by the General Assembly in 1945. This hospital school, which opened in May, 1946,

<sup>25</sup> Alton (15), Aurora (11), Bloomington (21), Blue Island (10), Champaign (10), Chicago (573), Cicero (11), Danville (13), Decatur (13), Elgin (15), Evanston (15), Freeport (10), Galesburg (15), Joliet (21), LaGrange (10), LaSalle (14), Mattoon (15), Oak Park (14), Peoria (24), Quincy (16), Rock Island (20), Rockford (23), Springfield (13), Villa Park (29), and Waukegan (13) (Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-41).

<sup>26</sup> Following the survey, a plan of correction was worked out by the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, and 13,484 pairs of eyes were given the correction they needed (see *Annual Report of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 1939-40*, pp. 7-8).

<sup>27</sup> Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



special day class for crippled children, who because of their handicaps could not attend regular school, again goes to Chicago, where a group of forty-five pupils were brought together in 1899 and were taught in a rented building. These accommodations were used until September, 1907, when the Jesse Spalding School, the first school especially designed to accommodate crippled children, was opened.<sup>30</sup> Since that time three other schools for crippled children have been established by the Chicago Board of Education.

The history of legislation for the special education of crippled children by the public schools parallels most closely that of the deaf. Four years after the Board of Education of Chicago had pioneered in providing special educational facilities for children so orthopedically handicapped that they could not readily be taken care of in the regular classroom, state aid was made available to it. In 1903<sup>31</sup> the General Assembly passed an act which authorized the payment of \$150 per pupil from the common school fund to school districts managed by boards of education or directors. Such classes, however, had to have an attendance of at least fifteen pupils.

This law gave the Superintendent of Public Instruction considerable authority, but, like the law of 1897 relative to the education of the deaf in day schools, after which it was patterned, it was re-

pealed in 1905.<sup>32</sup> Substituted for it was a law leaving to school districts complete responsibility for financing special educational services for crippled children.

The Chicago Board of Education continued to operate its special schools without state aid until 1923, when legislation was passed providing for the payment from the state treasury of the excess cost of operating special classes for crippled children. The maximum amount of reimbursement was not to exceed \$300 a year per pupil.<sup>33</sup>

Children for whom these special educational facilities could be provided were defined as those between the ages of five and twenty-one years so deformed in body or limb that they could not profitably or safely be educated in regular classes. A proviso was added to the effect that children with defective hearing, speech, or sight were not to be considered within the meaning of the act.

Following the passage of this act, the Chicago Board of Education began to claim state reimbursement not only for crippled children but also for those with heart disease for whom it was providing special educational services. This practice had to be discontinued after 1933, when the attorney-general ruled that children suffering from deformed heart valves could not, according to the definition given in the law, be considered crippled children.<sup>34</sup> Not until 1943, when the definition of a physically handicapped child was broadened, did state aid for the special education of this type of child become available.<sup>35</sup> In 1943, also, provision was made for the payment of transportation of physically

is designed for mentally alert children under twenty-one years of age who are so severely incapacitated physically that they cannot be cared for in their own homes. It is the first of its kind to be established by any state.

<sup>30</sup> See Edith Reeves Solenberger, *Public School Classes for Crippled Children* (U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1918, No. 10) (Washington, 1918), p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1903, p. 34.

<sup>32</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1905, p. 372.

<sup>33</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1923, p. 597.

<sup>34</sup> *Opinions of the Attorney General*, 1933, p. 631.

<sup>35</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1943, p. 1277.

handicapped children from one district to another.

When the state contributes to the excess cost of educating handicapped children, it should be assured that the money which it appropriates for that purpose is spent wisely and for the benefit of the children for whom it is intended. Because past experience had shown that certain school districts, merely to claim state aid, had been tempted to put into special classes only slightly handicapped children who should properly have taken their places in a regular classroom, it became obvious that some method of determining the medical eligibility of each child prior to enrolment for special educational services should be provided. In 1943, therefore, there was written into the law a provision to the effect that the Division of Services for Crippled Children (the one state agency which maintains diagnostic clinics easily accessible to all parts of the state) is to determine the nature and degree of a child's handicap and whether it is serious enough to warrant a program of special education. This check on the eligibility of physically handicapped children prior to enrolment in a special class not only assures the local school districts the right to claim reimbursement but also gives the Division of Services for Crippled Children an opportunity to discover children whose handicaps can be corrected.

As in the case of classes for the deaf, blind, and partially seeing, state supervision over day classes for the crippled was not centralized in a single state authority until 1945. The law of 1903, which for the first time provided for the special education of crippled children, gave the state Superintendent of Public Instruction certain powers. He was to appoint the teachers for the classes and could also remove them for cause. His

right to visit and inspect such classes was not specifically mentioned, but there was a mandatory provision requiring school districts maintaining special facilities for the crippled to report to him annually. Probably because state aid at this time was in the form of a lump-sum grant from the state common school fund, which was distributed by the county superintendent of schools, the state superintendent was intrusted with no responsibility in this area.

Following the repeal of this act in 1905, state supervision over these classes was not reintroduced until 1923. At this time the educational aspects of these classes became subject to the supervision of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, but approval of claims for state aid became the responsibility of the Department of Public Welfare. These two state agencies shared supervisory responsibility until 1945, when the Superintendent of Public Instruction was given entire responsibility for all phases of the program.

Since the passage of the 1923 act making regular state aid available to the local school districts for the special education of crippled children, facilities for them have developed to a greater extent than those with defects of the ear and eye. This may be attributed in part to the special appeal which these children have on human sympathy and in part to the possibility of providing special educational provisions by means of home teachers or transportation, as well as by special classes or special teachers in combination with the regular school program.

The number of children benefiting from the provisions of the law is found in the statistics published by the United States Office of Education. During the school year 1939-40, classes for 4,252

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crippled children were being conducted by public schools in forty-five Illinois cities and towns.<sup>36</sup> Of the total number enrolled, however, approximately 90 per cent were in classes and schools conducted by the Board of Education of Chicago. That year Chicago had the largest enrolment of physically handicapped children in special classes of any city in the nation. For that reason perhaps the state outranked most of the others. Only New York, with an enrolment of 4,785, surpassed Illinois.<sup>37</sup>

The progress which Illinois has made in this field of endeavor is one of which it can be justly proud, but much yet remains to be done in bringing educational opportunities to crippled children in the rural areas.

#### OTHER PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Until 1943 the three preceding groups of physically handicapped children—the blind and visually defective, the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and the crippled—were the only ones for whom state aid was provided to facilitate their education in special day schools and classes in their own communities. That does not mean that some local school districts did not recognize the social and economic importance of providing special educational facilities for other types of physically

handicapped children, including those with a heart ailment, a speech defect, or a seriously underweight condition. The Board of Education of Chicago, for example, extended special educational services to all these children and paid for such services entirely out of local funds. At least five other Illinois cities—Galesburg, Moline, Peoria, Rockford, and Springfield—also modified their school programs to improve the instruction of one or more of the foregoing groups of physically handicapped children. But facilities in terms of need have been woefully lacking. The number of cardiac children requiring some special educational services is estimated to be somewhere between 20,000 and 25,000, yet only a handful are being provided with the help they need.<sup>38</sup> The number of those with defective speech is estimated to be well over 15,000, while those with lowered vitality—the anemic and pre-tubercular—number close to 13,000. Yet as recently as 1943 only Chicago was providing special educational facilities for such handicapped children.<sup>39</sup>

The inequality of providing state aid for the establishment of special educational opportunities for only certain types of handicapped children was commented upon by the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation in its report of 1931.<sup>40</sup> Little, however, was done to promote legislation that would extend the benefits of special educational services to all types of physically handicapped children by means of state aid until 1943, when the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children sponsored a bill extending special educational serv-

<sup>36</sup> Arlington Heights (2), Aurora (23), Batavia (1), Bloomington (7), Blue Island (2), Bradley (2), Canton (1), Centralia (6), Champaign (1), Chester (1), Chicago (3,898), Danville (8), Decatur (18), East Peoria (3), East St. Louis (15), Elgin (19), Elmhurst (1), Evanston (22), Galesburg (7), Granite City (4), Harrisburg (8), Havana (3), Jacksonville (5), Joliet (11), Kankakee (2), Lincoln (2), Lombard (3), Macomb (3), Moline (2), Monticello (2), Mount Vernon (8), Naperville (1), Pekin (1), Peoria (51), P. Natick (1), Quincy (14), Rock Island (11), Rockford (44), Shelbyville (1), Springfield (21), Sterling (2), Streator (2), Urbana (4), Vird. n (2), and Wilmette (1) (Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-41).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> Linck, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>40</sup> *Report of the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, State of Illinois, February 3, 1931*, pp. 34-35.

ices to other than orthopedically handicapped pupils. This bill, on which the General Assembly took favorable action, amended the crippled children's act of 1923 in several important respects. Provision was made for the payment of excess cost of educating physically handicapped children, exclusive of the blind, defective of vision, deaf and hard-of-hearing (who were provided for in another statute) up to the maximum of \$300 a month, and for the payment of transportation if necessary. New provisions requiring approval of existing and future special classes and certification of medical eligibility of the child made possible improved administration.

Further extension of services to physically handicapped children became possible in 1945, when the definition of a physically handicapped child was broadened to include children as young as three years of age.

The stimulating effect this new legislation has had on local school districts is reflected in the increased number of communities which are providing special instruction for children who, because of some physical impediment, cannot derive the fullest amount of benefit from the regular classroom program. State reports indicate that, during the school year 1944-45, 173 communities in 71 counties had provided special educational opportunities to 12,765 physically handicapped children, including the crippled.<sup>41</sup> Over half of these children (55 per cent) were being given help in the correction of a speech defect. Interest in

providing these children with aid in overcoming their handicap was stimulated by the speech rehabilitation program inaugurated late in 1943 by the Division of Services for Crippled Children. Since 1943 at least eighteen public schools outside Chicago have established such classes, eleven tracing their origin to the stimulation and guidance of this division.<sup>42</sup>

Other types of handicapped children are also receiving attention, and more will get special services as local communities become aware of the benefits of the individualized programs. The establishment of "centers" where children needing special instruction from several near-by schools could be sent is a proposal which has been suggested by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the use of small school districts.<sup>43</sup>

Although Illinois still has a long way to go in meeting the special educational needs of all physically handicapped children, it is making progress and, in comparison with other states, is well ahead of most of them.

#### THE SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED

Special educational facilities and services for socially maladjusted children is a recent addition to the public school program. So recent has the movement been that by 1940 there were but fifty cities in twenty-five states that had established special classes or schools for problem children as a part of the public school system.<sup>44</sup> While some children who disrupt the classroom routine by their truancy, misbehavior, or incorrigibility can be helped to make a satis-

<sup>41</sup> Of these 173 communities, 136 provided special educational services for fewer than 5 children and only 20 for as many as 25 children. In the latter group was Chicago, in which 8,999, or 70 per cent of the total physically handicapped children, were getting special instruction. Data furnished by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

<sup>42</sup> "Progress in Care of Crippled Children Highlights Past Year's Activities," *Welfare Bulletin*, XXXV (October, 1944), 9.

<sup>43</sup> Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

factory adjustment by an understanding teacher who adapts her program of work to meet the needs of a troublesome child, there are others who fail to respond to such treatment and who need the facilities of special classes or schools.

A study of the provisions for the special education of the socially handicapped child in the public schools of Illinois reveals that special facilities for the care of such children exist in only a few of the larger cities, notably Chicago. That city has set up two types of special educational programs for the treatment of children presenting behavior problems: (1) a residential school known as the parental school and (2) special classes in a few of the regular public schools and two special day schools.

These methods of dealing with truant and unruly children came into use only after the compulsory education law, which was first passed in 1883,<sup>45</sup> forced the Board of Education of Chicago to consider other means than expulsion of handling troublesome children. The possibility of using ungraded rooms was considered, but the parental school was tried first, especially after a special commission authorized by the City Council in 1899 recommended the "establishment of one or more parental schools for the forcible detention of persistently refractory pupils."<sup>46</sup> In compliance with this recommendation the legislature of 1899 passed the parental school law, which provided that cities having a population of 100,000 or more must establish "one or more parental or truant schools for the purpose of affording a

place of confinement, discipline, instruction and maintenance for children of compulsory school age who may be committed thereto."<sup>47</sup> Not only truant children but those who were serious behavior problems in school could be committed to the parental school on court order. This school, which was opened in January, 1902, admitted only boys until 1919, at which time also girls were granted admission, following the building of a special cottage for their care. Their numbers, however, have always been much lower than that of the boys.

Because it was recognized that the Chicago Parental School could not possibly take care of all the problem boys in the public schools and because some school officials were of the opinion that even the most serious behavior cases should be given a trial in a special class before being subjected to the undesirable experience of a court appearance, it was decided to establish special rooms for truant and persistently troublesome children. Such classes, which emphasized industrial rather than academic training, were first set up in 1911.

In the same year the General Assembly passed a law authorizing boards of education to establish classes and schools for delinquent children and providing for the payment from the state treasury of the excess cost of maintaining such classes or schools.<sup>48</sup> The maximum amount of reimbursement was set at \$190 a year per pupil, which maximum has never been changed.

Following the passage of this law, a number of special classes in various sec-

<sup>45</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1883, p. 167.

<sup>46</sup> *Report of Educational Commission of City of Chicago*, 1899, p. 160. Quoted in Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Truancy and Non-attendance in the Chicago Schools* (Chicago, 1917), p. 86.

<sup>47</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1899, p. 346. The population limit meant that the law was applicable only to the city of Chicago. However, cities of over 25,000 could also establish such schools, provided the question was submitted to a vote of the people and adopted by a majority of them.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1911, p. 505.



tions of Chicago were organized. As was to be expected, boys placed in the special classes varied in age, in intellectual ability, and in grade attainment, as well as in social experience. As a result there was little possibility for homogeneous grouping. Moreover, the teachers had little information about the home life of the boy, his neighborhood environment, or the influence companions had upon him.

In order to facilitate individual study of the boy by specialists, including a physician, a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a social worker, as well as to make possible proper classification of the boys and a more varied vocational program, it was decided to centralize the so-called truant rooms located in regular schools on the North and West sides into the Montifiore School. This school, which was established in September, 1929, proved so successful that a second school, the Mosely, was opened a year later to serve the area south of the Loop.

Although both educators and social workers have questioned the advisability of segregating problem boys, the experience of these schools, which annually care for more than a thousand boys, would seem to indicate that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

Outside of Chicago little progress has been made in establishing special classes for children, even after 1941, when the law was amended to make state aid available to "truant, incorrigible and delinquent" pupils assigned to special classes or schools by transfer as well as by court commitment.<sup>49</sup> Cities other than Chicago which in 1944 were offering special educational opportunities to socially handicapped children numbered seven, with an average attendance of 114.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1941, p. 1142.*

While Illinois, in comparison with other states, has made some headway in providing special educational services for behavior problem children, especially in Chicago, it has yet to devise methods of meeting the needs of such children in the smaller cities and rural districts.

#### THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE

The history of the education of the mentally defective child in Illinois follows closely the pattern of most of the states of the nation. The first step in that direction was the establishment of a residential school which originally was attached to the School for the Deaf as an experimental unit.<sup>51</sup> Not until six years later, in 1871, was a separate institution for this group of handicapped children established.<sup>52</sup> Originally this school did not accept children who were hopelessly uneducable, but, as applications for the admission of those in need of constant care and supervision continued to grow, a custodial building was finally opened in 1891; and since that time intake has been extended to adults as well as to children.

While in the 1890's and early 1900's segregation of the mentally defective was looked upon as a possible solution of caring for this group of handicapped children, it is now recognized that institutional care of all types of mentally handicapped children is neither practicable nor desirable. Of the educable group only those who are socially inadequate or whose home conditions are detrimental to their proper training should be sent to the state schools. However, of the estimated 70,000 educable mentally handi-

<sup>50</sup> Chicago Heights (25), Galesburg (56), Joliet (12), Oswego (1), Peoria (13), Polo (4), and Quincy (13) (Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Statistical Report, 1944, p. 394*).

<sup>51</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1865, p. 78.*

<sup>52</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1871, p. 417.*

capped children of school age in Illinois,<sup>53</sup> relatively a small percentage are receiving special instruction.

That the mentally handicapped child can be given instruction adapted to his individual needs, interests, and abilities and helped to take a constructive part in our economic and social life was taken cognizance of by the Chicago Board of Education as early as 1891. While Chicago cannot claim the honor of being the first city to inaugurate day classes for the instruction of mentally subnormal children, it can claim the distinction of being the first city in the world to establish a child study department within the public school system where the child's particular difficulty could be diagnosed and a plan of treatment suggested.

The experimental classes which were first tried out in 1891 soon turned out to be the place where any child who, for one reason or another, failed to succeed in the regular classroom was transferred. Although these early classes did not prove to be the solution for meeting the needs of the mentally deficient, they served the purpose of demonstrating the need of diagnostic services. With the establishment of a child study department in the Chicago public school system in 1899, it was possible to select on a more scientific basis those children whose difficulties were due to intellectual inferiority. The first special class limited solely to mentally handicapped children was established in Chicago in 1900. Since that time school facilities for mentally defective children in the Chicago public schools have developed along various lines. At the present time classes are provided for children under twelve years of age whose I.Q. is between 50 and 75.

<sup>53</sup> Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children, *The Educable Mentally Handicapped Child* (1943), p. 15.

Those over the age of twelve years with an I.Q. over 70 are absorbed back into the elementary grades whenever that seems desirable. The remainder are transferred to vocational centers which have as their objectives: "(1) the development of manual skills; (2) teaching the basic academic skills; (3) cultivating desirable uses of leisure time; (4) training for economic self-sufficiency."<sup>54</sup> At the age of sixteen these children may transfer to the advanced vocational centers, or they may leave school to go to work.

Although public schools outside the city of Chicago in some instances offer special educational services to mentally handicapped children, these are comparatively few in number and are to be found only in the larger cities and towns. In as recent a school year as 1939-40, a period from which comparable statistics from other states are available, there were but 4,252 mentally deficient children who were attending special classes in the public schools of twelve Illinois cities.<sup>55</sup>

Of this number, 3,716, or 87 per cent, were enrolled in the Chicago public schools. A comparison with forty-one other states which in the year 1939-40 were conducting special classes for mentally deficient children, showed that Illinois ranked ninth, being surpassed, in order of numerical importance, by New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, California, Michigan, Ohio, and New Jersey.<sup>56</sup> Undoubtedly, one reason why Illinois did not make a better

<sup>54</sup> Bernadine C. Schmidt, "Vocational Guidance for the Mentally Defective," *Chicago School Journal*, XXV (September-December, 1943), 28.

<sup>55</sup> Alton (19), Bloomington (35), Chicago (3,716), Cicero (38), Danville (71), East St. Louis (62), Elgin (17), Peoria (63), Rockford (203), Savanna (13), Sterling (6), and Wilmette (9) (Martens and Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-41).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

showing at that time was that, unlike most of the foregoing states, it had no legislation providing state financial aid to local school districts to meet the excess cost of educating mentally handicapped children beyond that involved in educating normal children.

The wisdom of encouraging local districts to provide special educational facilities for children of limited mental abilities by means of state aid was pointed out by the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation in 1931, and it recommended that "the State appropriate a sum, not to exceed \$100 a year per child, for payment toward the cost of conducting special classes for mentally and socially handicapped children in which they live."<sup>57</sup>

Legislation in line with this recommendation was not enacted until twelve years later, when a bill sponsored by the Illinois Society of Consulting Psychologists and the Commission for Handicapped Children was acted upon favorably by the General Assembly.<sup>58</sup> It empowered local school districts to establish special schools, special classes, or special instruction within the regular classes for educable mentally handicapped children between the ages of five and twenty-one and provided for the payment by the state of the excess cost of such services up to \$100 a year per child. In order to qualify for reimbursement, it became mandatory upon local school districts to submit their plan for special education of mentally handicapped children to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for approval. The law vested this official with the general supervision of the special educational facilities

and with the power to make necessary rules for the carrying-out of the purpose of the act. He was also made responsible for determining the eligibility of children to receive special educational services. To assure proper selection of such children, the law provided for their examination by a "qualified psychological examiner,"<sup>59</sup> and to assure their instruction by competent teachers, the law specified that such persons had to hold a valid teacher's certificate and must have received "special instruction in methods of teaching the educable mentally handicapped as defined and approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction."

The law of 1943, while outstanding as a piece of progressive legislation, was merely an enabling act. No appropriations for carrying out its provisions were made. Supporters of the legislation hoped that the new law would stimulate local school districts to provide special programs of education for this neglected group, or at least study their needs, thus enabling the Superintendent of Public Instruction to estimate as accurately as possible the amount of state funds that should be appropriated for the following biennium. An appropriation for this purpose was made by the General Assembly in 1945, and there is reason to hope that Illinois has embarked on a new era in educating and training the mentally handicapped child.

<sup>59</sup> A qualified psychological examiner was defined as "a person who has graduated with a master's or higher degree in psychology or educational psychology from a higher institution of learning which maintains equipment, course of study and standards of scholarship approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who has had at least one year of full-time supervised experience in the individual psychological examination of children, of a character approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and who has such additional qualifications as may be required by the Superintendent of Public Instruction" (*ibid.*, sec. 6).

<sup>57</sup> *Report of the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, State of Illinois, February 3, 1931*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>58</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1943*, p. 1239.

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# STATE SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITY

As has already been indicated, responsibility for the administration of the laws allocating state funds for the education of handicapped children in the public schools was originally divided between two state authorities, the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the welfare department. The duty assigned to the latter was that of approving claims of the school districts seeking reimbursement for the excess cost of providing special educational facilities for certain types of handicapped children. The supervisory service of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, on the other hand, was concerned primarily with educational matters, such as methods of instruction, courses of study, and teachers' qualifications.

This division of responsibility between the two state agencies resulted in confusion and in some duplication of effort. The first step toward the elimination of dual administration was taken in 1941, when the law pertaining to the special education of socially maladjusted children was amended, allocating to the Superintendent of Public Instruction responsibility for approving the claims of school districts for reimbursement as well as his former supervisory duties. The final step in the way of a unified program of administration was achieved in 1945, when the several laws pertaining to the education of exceptional children were consolidated into a single act and administration centralized in the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Although the several laws pertaining to the education of handicapped children in special classes all provided for state supervision on the part of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, very limited services were provided before 1941. This was so because prior to that

time the educational authority had neither the staff nor the funds for carrying out an effective program of supervision. A first assistant to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, whose official position was that of regional supervisor for elementary and secondary schools, spent some time visiting special classes, but he did not have the time to give them the attention they required. The need for increased guidance and assistance was recognized by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and in 1939 an appropriation of \$12,000 for the supervision of special classes was requested and was voted upon favorably by the General Assembly. Unfortunately, this appropriation was vetoed by the governor,<sup>60</sup> and it was not until two years later that funds for the appointment of a director of education of exceptional children became available. With the appointment of a director who gives full time to supervision of the various classes has come a recognition of the need for special supervisors. In 1945 the budget of the Superintendent of Public Instruction included funds for the payment of the salaries of specialists in the various fields of special education and for several qualified psychological examiners. Funds for this purpose were approved by the legislature, and with the appointment of this qualified personnel Illinois will have one of the best-supervised programs for the education of exceptional children in the country.

## STATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Although legislation authorizing aid from the Illinois state treasury to local school districts which set up special facilities for the education of handicapped

<sup>60</sup> *Laws of Illinois, 1939, p. 191.*

children was first enacted in 1911, regular appropriations for this purpose did not begin until 1917. That year a sum of \$100,000 was made available for the education of deaf and blind children in special classes. The amount of the appropriation soon began to increase not only as funds for the payment of the excess cost of educating other groups of handicapped children gradually became available<sup>61</sup> but also as more school districts began taking advantage of the several enabling laws. By 1945 ap-

amount appropriated for the special education of all types of physically handicapped children jumps to approximately three-fourths. Note should also be made of the fact that the first appropriation for the special education of mentally handicapped children was made in 1945. This amount, approximately \$600,000, should bring new advantages to a much-neglected group. Table 1 also shows that about 70 per cent of the total appropriations for the excess cost of educating handicapped children in Illinois will go

TABLE 1\*  
STATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE EXCESS COST OF EDUCATING  
HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN ILLINOIS, 1945-47

TYPE OF HANDICAPPED CHILD	STATE APPROPRIATIONS		
	Total	Chicago	Downstate
Physically handicapped.....	\$2,594,304	\$1,950,000	\$ 644,304
Blind, defective vision.....	450,700	225,000	225,700
Deaf, defective hearing.....	421,850	301,500	120,350
Truant, incorrigible, delinquent..	845,840	650,000	195,840
Educable mentally handicapped..	598,000	350,000	248,000
Total.....	\$4,910,694	\$3,476,500	\$1,434,194

\* Compiled from Department of Finance, *Summary of Appropriations, Regular Session, Sixty-fourth General Assembly*, pp. 27-28.

propriations had reached the \$5,000,000 mark. The amount of money allotted for the excess cost of educating the various types of handicapped children in Chicago and in the downstate areas for the biennium 1945-46 is shown in Table 1.

As an examination of this table shows, a little over half the total amount is to be used for the reimbursement of school districts which provide for physically handicapped children, exclusive of those with defective vision and hearing. If the latter two groups are added, then the

<sup>61</sup>E.g., funds for the payment of the excess costs of educating delinquent children became available in 1919, for the crippled in 1923, and for the mentally educable in 1945.

to the city of Chicago and indicates the need for expanding special educational facilities for handicapped children in downstate Illinois.

#### SUMMARY

The foregoing review of the legislative history of special educational services for handicapped children in the public schools of Illinois shows the gains that have been made in this field in the last fifty years. Instead of having four different laws on the subject, there is at present a single law. The types of exceptional children for whose benefit legislation has been enacted is no longer



limited to a selected few whose special cause happened to be championed by some interested group but includes all types of handicapped children. The ages of those eligible for care has in most instances been broadened, ranging from three to twenty-one years of age in the case of the physically handicapped and from five to twenty-one years in the case of the educable mentally handicapped. Legal provision also exists for determining the eligibility of physically and mentally handicapped children for special educational services, thus insuring expenditure of funds for the benefit of those children for whom they were intended.

State aid to help local districts meet the excess cost of educating exceptional children is now available for all types, although very few districts avail themselves of every state-aid provision. The maximum amount of reimbursement has also increased over the years, and the

several amounts are equal to and in some instances are above those provided by other states.

Significant strides have also been made in the matter of administration. A completely unified program was finally achieved in 1945, when the Superintendent of Public Instruction was assigned functions formerly given to the Department of Public Welfare. With the increase in responsibilities assigned to that office has come an increase in appropriations for administrative expenses, thus assuring the development of adequate supervisory services.

Illinois may well be proud of the progress it has made in extending special educational services to handicapped children in the state, but not until these special services are more widely established in downstate areas can it be said that children throughout the state are being offered equal opportunities.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## DESIRABLE QUALIFICATIONS FOR CHILD WELFARE WORK AS RECOMMENDED BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES

HAZEL H. FREDERICKSEN

**T**HERE are now employed in the United States and its possessions about 12,600 child welfare workers. Of these, more than 3,600 are employed in public agencies providing services, other than institutional care, to children, and approximately 9,000 in private agencies and institutions. As many more are needed to fill existing vacancies. According to a United States Children's Bureau survey published in July, 1945, more than 50 per cent of all full-time children's workers employed in public welfare agencies were concentrated in eight states.

The need of personnel in the child welfare field has stimulated schools of social work to develop special sequences of courses and field work designed to prepare students for this particular area of practice. According to the American Association of Schools of Social Work, all the forty-five member-schools offer classroom courses in child welfare. Thirty-seven offer field work in child welfare; thirty-three of the thirty-seven offer three or more courses in child welfare, indicating thereby that they have a specialized curriculum in the subject. The latest figures available from all the schools in the academic year 1943-44 show that 1,080 students received a degree and 1,042 received diplomas or certificates. In addition, 336 satisfied all the degree requirements except the completion of a thesis and/or the examination. It is impossible to check accurately the number of these gradu-

ates who are now employed as child welfare workers. However, it is known that a number of them have completed two years of graduate training and that others have at least one year of training in one of the forty-five recognized schools.

Current salary quotations in private child welfare agencies show that school of social work graduates with or without experience have a salary range of \$1,500 to \$2,400 with a median of \$1,865. The median rate for all full-time child welfare workers in public agencies, according to a United States Children's Bureau survey, July 31, 1944, was \$1,985. In the public field the median salary quotation for urban workers was \$2,101, or 10 per cent higher than the median for workers in rural areas.

There is little utilization of Negro workers on child welfare staffs. A survey made by the United States Children's Bureau in July, 1945, shows only fifteen states out of forty-eight report employment of any nonwhite workers. Two-thirds of the 117 nonwhite workers were employed in four states—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Virginia. The District of Columbia also employs nonwhite workers.

What is it that the child welfare worker does that requires specialized training? Are there particular skills and characteristics demanded of her in order for her to do an adequate job? If specialized skills are required, what contribution should the schools of social wel-

fare make toward the development of these skills?

In an effort to answer these questions, the writer, as a member of the staff of the School of Social Welfare, University of California, asked directors of public welfare departments in the fifty-two jurisdictions of the United States and directors of twenty-seven private child welfare agencies for their opinions. Answers were received from forty-seven of the states and territories and from nineteen of the private agencies questioned.

In approximately one-third of the states the questions were discussed in staff meetings of the child welfare divisions in public welfare agencies, thus giving the benefit of a report of consensus of staff opinion. Several private agencies also presented this material for staff discussion. In other states the director of public welfare referred the questions to the supervisor of child welfare. In a few instances the director of public welfare and the supervisor of child welfare both answered. In all but one instance the answers showed thoughtful, painstaking preparation. The assistant director of public welfare in that state reported: "We have never given any thought to what skills a child welfare worker should have."

The answers received, from all public and private agencies, showed general agreement with regard to the content of services for children and the need for specialized training of workers to plan intelligently and to carry out these services.

A brief summary of this material will enable us to answer the question, "What is it that the child welfare worker does that requires specialized training?"

The child welfare worker studies the problems of the child who is referred to her by the family, the schools, the

juvenile court, the police, the recreation leader, or the neighbors to see whether arrangements can be made to meet the child's need in his own home, at school, in the community, or, if necessary, in the hospital, the foster-home, or the children's institution. Among these children are those who present conduct problems in the school or the community; children in need of treatment or special training because of physical handicaps; mentally handicapped children for whose care planning is needed; children whose home conditions threaten their physical or social well-being; and homeless or dependent children for whom financial support or a place to live or both has to be arranged.

The child welfare worker makes possible intelligent consideration of the child's difficulties and helps use and develop community resources to aid the child. Foster-home placement has been developed as one aid among many that may help to solve a child's problem. To the worker who does not know the hazards and difficulties of foster-care (or who does not understand how to relate overt acts to inner motives for wanting a child), the selection of foster-homes becomes little more than an examination of real estate. To assume responsibility for the social aspects of an adoption case, or to attempt to prepare a case involving neglect for a court hearing so that it will stand up, requires some basic knowledge of the legal field.

In the child guidance field there is need for workers with special skills for work with children who may need psychiatric treatment. Unless the worker assigned to children's cases has had special training that gives her skill and competency and an understanding of the difficulties which beset children in the process of growing up, she will be unable

to do little more more than card-index a child.

Some child welfare workers are employed in areas far from paved roads, shopping centers, adequate medical facilities, and places of recreation—areas where rigid cultural patterns or localistic prejudices create almost overwhelming problems in relation to services for children. Here the problem of program interpretation is as great as the need. Other workers more fortunate are employed in urban areas where resources are available and where there has been sufficient interpretation of the child welfare worker's job to permit relatively smooth sailing. However, even in the urban setting, child welfare workers in public agencies find that state and local welfare departments do not all operate on the same basis, although they have common denominators of practice and function. So with private agencies; administrative and supervisory controls vary according to the security of the executive, the realities of the local situation, and the attitudes, size, and capacity of the staff.

What are some of the personal qualifications and characteristics required of the child welfare worker who has the tremendous responsibility for the development of these programs and the solution of many of these problems?

The most generally sought specific quality in both public and private agencies is the ability to establish satisfactory working relationships with other people. The capacity for getting along with parents, foster-parents, and professional and lay persons in the community is specified, for instance, in the public agency in Wyoming; while in Washington it is felt that the child welfare worker's activity should help her also to accept and strengthen the work of other staff members as well as to work smooth-

ly with volunteers. In Washington the ability to establish relationship with children is also mentioned, and "a sympathetic understanding of child behavior" is stressed in Wyoming and Ohio. Alabama has, perhaps, the same thing in mind when it requires of prospective workers a "direct and specific interest in children."

Thirty-four of the state child welfare divisions look for maturity and emotional security in the worker, it would seem, though they express this requirement in different ways. Michigan, Nevada, and Alabama call the quality "maturity"; in Wyoming and Alaska it is "emotional maturity"; in Connecticut "emotional security." Five of the private agencies seek good judgment, self-reliance, resourcefulness, and initiative, and two others mention a "feeling for and sympathy with one's fellow-men." The private agency in Connecticut believes the prospective worker "preferably should have had a happy, normal childhood, a healthy outlook on life, and the ability to meet frustrations with a minimum of disturbance."

In addition to the above, it appears that thirteen public and four private agencies are looking for similar qualities when they state that the worker should be judged by the "equipment" which she brings, by her "interests and abilities," or "by her awareness of why she chose social work," although criteria so vaguely worded increase the problem of evaluation, which is difficult at best.

In the public agency in Wisconsin and in six private agencies in other states the personal appearance of the prospective child welfare worker is mentioned as being formally taken into consideration. The only references to experience were made by Wyoming, which believes that the worker should be "primarily a family worker," and Michigan, where it

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is thought that the worker "should be experienced in a field such as public assistance." The private agency in Connecticut sets age limits of twenty-five to forty years—"the lower," says Connecticut, "to insure sufficient maturity; the upper to secure elasticity and tolerance."

Educational qualifications are divided into preprofessional training and training in a school of social welfare. The consensus in public and private agencies was that, prior to admission to graduate work in social welfare, a student should have received her Bachelor's degree and shown evidence of capacity to do work at the graduate level. She should be familiar with preprofessional subjects most closely related to the social service curriculum, namely, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, statistics; a number of agencies mentioned, as prerequisites to acceptance for graduate training, basic courses in English and composition, and a few included social anthropology. So much for opinions regarding preprofessional training.

In discussing graduate training and the contribution schools of social work should make to preparing the worker in the field of child welfare, it was generally suggested that in a two-year course there should be "general preparation in the entire field of social work the first year with emphasis on fields of special interest in the second year." Where a one-year course only was offered, it was suggested that a general course in history and development of child welfare should be given to all students.

The suggestions regarding the subject matter that should be offered in the professional curriculum of a two-year course are comprehensive. Ninety-six per cent of all replies included statements to the effect that understanding of motivation of human behavior and human relation-

ships is fundamental to all processes in child welfare and, therefore, that related fields of medicine, psychiatry, and mental hygiene should have a definite place in the curriculum. Three public and four private agencies stressed the need for courses that put more emphasis than is now given to understanding the normal as well as the abnormal child.

A universal request from all agencies replying was that increasing emphasis be placed in training on the whole program of foster-care of children. There should be better opportunities offered by schools to students in understanding the place of institutions in child care and the assets and liabilities of such care. The selection and use of foster-homes and the handling of child-parent and child-foster-parent relationship and house or cottage parent-child relationship should be given greater emphasis than it now is in child welfare classes in schools of social work.

Case work was considered by all agencies to be the basic method which acquaints the student with practice in the field. Field-work practice designed to give the prospective child welfare worker experience in carrying through the processes of social case work under supervision was considered essential by all public and private agencies.

Excerpts from replies of several public agencies as to what should constitute the case-work course and field-work placement may be of interest. New Hampshire suggests that students should get from a school of social work a "background of professional knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of human behavior and some theoretical classroom discussion of case-work problems." This should be coupled with "an opportunity to think through difficult case situations as a preparation for better handling of them."

Rhode Island contributes its opinion



in the following way: Students should be given a "foundation of generic case work," and, added to this, there should be "field-work experience and at least one field-work placement, preferably two, in a family agency, a children's agency, or some psychiatric experience." New Jersey briefly and simply suggests "regular courses in case work and family relationships," and no indication is given of the opinion of the agency in that state with respect to field-work placement for students.

A relatively tall order comes from the public agency in Florida. Schools of social work should offer "practical knowledge of case-work concepts," along with "field-work experience in a family or child welfare agency." They further suggest, particularly for older students, "more extensive use of administrative and community organization," and, for all students, "provision for field-work experience in other areas than case work."

Mississippi also has a good deal to suggest, offering as a standard for schools "basic understanding of social case work" for all students, along with "practical field-work experience in a good agency." This state also expressed belief that schools should share with agencies their evaluation of students' work. Indiana and Michigan offered like suggestions, both emphasizing the importance of basic training in case work. Minnesota, on the other hand, is somewhat more explicit in suggesting that more emphasis be placed upon "understanding family integration and family problems, upon the generic nature of social work, and upon the family as a unit."

Alike in point of view to Minnesota is Nebraska, for this state also emphasizes the importance of training in family case work. Added to this suggestion, Ne-

braska stresses "treatment of children and their problems." The public agency in Missouri believes case-work courses and courses involving standards should be taught with some idea of flexibility in application. Oklahoma suggests "varied experience in field work with cases carried over a period of time to give the worker a certain confidence in her own ability."

The western states present an interesting contrast in the points which each believes to be important. Idaho suggests that schools offer an opportunity for students to develop "skill in helping people to recognize factors influencing behavior and ability to utilize this knowledge effectively." Also, this state indicates that an "awareness and control of factors which might limit or hamper effectiveness as a case worker" should be present in the training program. Washington places emphasis on services to children and stresses the importance of a "realization that case-work services for children cannot be set apart from family case-work practice." Finally, California suggests "a generic course in case work synchronized with field work."

The application of case-work skills to social workers' professional contacts is advocated enthusiastically by many agencies. Members of the profession have accepted the concept that a good working relationship with a client is basic to effective case-work results. Can this concept be extended in working with others whose interests are affected by social work and social workers? The attitudes of several public and private agencies would indicate that case-work techniques can be desirably extended.

New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Mexico, Idaho, Indiana, and Minnesota public agencies advocate that case-work techniques be applied by workers to the professional relationships with other workers and with staff mem-

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bers, also with community representatives. Two of these, New York and Pennsylvania, recommend that a worker should be trained to relate case-work skills to other than clients and to accept each community problem as an individual problem which can be changed through the use of the same skills that are used to change client attitudes. Four of these state public agencies stress the need for understanding how to apply case-work principles beyond the client, although they do not specify incorporation in the training program.

Private agencies in Nebraska, Texas, Minnesota, Colorado, Georgia, and California especially recommend training that will enable workers to see that case-work techniques are applicable to staff members, workers in other agencies, and all community relationships.

It is interesting to note that a real concern of public agencies and, to a lesser extent, of private agencies is the need for more adequate training to be offered by schools of social work in rural social work. There was no indication from any agency that an untrained, unskilled worker could be sent to isolated rural communities.

Kentucky places particular stress on "an opportunity for field work to be carried on in a rural setting." More emphasis in teaching case-work skills in a rural setting is the suggestion made by the North Carolina agency, along with the idea that there must be more skill in relating the job to the work of the agency as a whole. Indiana places emphasis upon the preparation for a pioneering job, both in urban and in rural agencies, with a readiness to meet bad practice and attitudes without becoming discouraged. Missouri believes students should be aware that in a rural community there may be negative community attitudes toward a client.

Vermont would like to see courses offered in schools of social work for rural social workers which would enable them to do a more effective job with as little feeling of frustration as possible. One state department of welfare wants child welfare workers to have a course giving knowledge of ways of developing recreation in rural communities.

There was special emphasis in many public and private agencies on the need for the child welfare worker to understand agency structure, function, and limitations and requests for schools of social work to give the student help in recognition of practical limitations to possible services; for instance, the public agency in Texas suggests that schools might help the students, especially students new to the profession, to accept the limitations on the amount of time they will have to put into the practice of case work. This agency states that students experience great difficulty in adjusting themselves from their field-work experience in school to their work experience on the staff of a public welfare agency, particularly in communities with few resources.

South Carolina suggests that students learn to adjust to a public agency which has inadequate awards and limited resources. Students must be able to accept responsibilities for services needed when there are no other agencies in the community to handle them.

A private agency in the West stresses the fact that students should be prepared to recognize that agency resources may be limited. A private agency in a southern state suggests that students must have a knowledge of limitations in the private welfare program and limitations of local resources in many areas.

The public agency in New York State emphasizes the need for students to understand and to work with the setting

in which they are employed. Pennsylvania, like most of the other states, places emphasis upon the need for the worker's understanding of agency structure and its limitations, also, the need for definition of service geared to agency capacity in terms of budget and staff.

West Virginia's public agency joins other state agencies in thinking that there should be understanding of agency organization and limitations and awareness of differing community resources in rural and urban communities. Washington concurs in the opinion that students need to have more knowledge of the total agency program.

Workers in a public welfare agency should have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the functions of each and all public and private agencies in the local community and in the county in which they work, according to the public agency in Wisconsin. The public welfare agency in Missouri says: "The worker should understand how to adapt herself to limits set by size and preparation of staff administrative budgets and relationship to lay boards, commissions, counties, etc., as well as to lay administrators both at county and state levels." Missouri suggests, also, that students should have more assistance in defining what part of the public welfare job is professional and best done by professional workers and what is lay responsibility. Students should know what contributions other professions can make to social welfare. That a worker should be prepared to recognize agency limitations without apology and should learn to share responsibility with other agencies is the opinion of Louisiana.

From Wyoming and Iowa public agencies the suggestions come that students should be prepared to realize that in school they are, probably, in an optimum setting and that reality is far dif-

ferent from the well-organized, well-rounded, urban community in which they do field work. Iowa adds that an understanding of the attitudes of the local officials and a respect for them are essential to the county child welfare worker, whether or not she can agree with them. Twenty-seven public and eight private agencies express the belief that a school of social welfare should give the child welfare worker training in interpreting her program to the community. One public agency says: "The workers in this state could profit by a course in public speaking and newspaper writing." "Workers in this state," said a second public agency, "need a knowledge of good public relation techniques. The most necessary techniques are the ability to write a simple newspaper announcement and the power to make clear, interesting public speeches. The annual report to the Board of Supervisors could be written with more ingenuity."

A third public agency said: "Workers should develop an appreciation of the influence community setting plays on agency program. The program should be presented and interpreted to the community in such a way that community leaders will be interested in providing resources for children." "The child welfare worker," said one private agency, "should have a complete course in the interpretation of child welfare services." And another private agency states: "A child welfare worker must be able to interpret the program so every person in the community is thinking in terms of the child and his needs."

Additional suggestions of what a school of social welfare should give students of child welfare were the following:

Seven public and nine private agencies suggest courses in nutrition and in budgeting. Five public agencies recommend courses in industrial counseling re-

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lated to child-care programs. Twelve public agencies believe a course in medical information should be required of all students of child welfare. A course in psychiatric information is recommended by twenty-eight public and ten private agencies.

Thirteen public, but no private, agencies recommend a course in supervision, since child welfare workers may be advanced to supervisory positions very quickly. Seven public agencies suggest training in organization of work and planning of time and the value of learning to accept and utilize supervision for growth on the job. A course in research and statistics in social work was included in recommendations made by nine private and twenty-one public agencies in order that the worker would have some basis for understanding and evaluating social data.

Another public agency suggests a course in "Home-making"; still another one, a course in "Nursery School Training" to enable child welfare workers to have "more experience in actual care of children as well as ability to evaluate what group care may offer children."

Agencies, both public and private, hold varied opinions as to the extent of legal knowledge necessary for the child welfare worker. Sixteen public and five private agencies recommend a broad knowledge of laws in their own communities and in the state in which they are working. One public agency would require its workers to be "especially acquainted with labor laws which affect the employment of minors." Twelve public and three private agencies would want their workers to have knowledge of laws relating to settlement requirements in addition to a knowledge of all laws relating specifically to children. Two public and one private agency would ask their child welfare workers to have "such ex-

tensive knowledge of the legal aspects of dependency, neglect, and delinquency that they would be able to present cases in a county court."

There is a similarity in ideas expressed by all public and private agencies with regard to the training needed for writing concise, clear letters; accuracy in making out and keeping reports; skill in writing; understanding of the place of recording in case work; ability to plan recording, reports, and letters to meet the purpose for which they are intended; training in the fundamentals of interviewing; ability to plan and organize work; knowledge and use of community resources; helping students see the relationship of mechanics to the end result of service to the child.

Nineteen public agencies laid stress upon the importance of the student's acquiring the working philosophy that the innate dignity of man underlies all service. It is interesting to note this basic similarity of concept as to what constitutes a philosophy of social work in spite of the fact that the nineteen public agencies emphasizing this point are in widely separated states. Included or implied in all is the responsibility of society for the individual. Mississippi accents this in relation to children. North Dakota wishes the student to acquire the humility that permits recognition of the value of ideas of untrained workers and acknowledgment of the limitations of theoretical knowledge. California suggests a need for proper perspective in correlating knowledge with actual practice.

Several private agencies consider specific abilities necessary for worth-while results with special groups. For example, a private agency in a New England area stresses the need for understanding causal factors in behavior of both parents and children, coupled with sensitive understanding of the needs, fears, and un-



certainities of each. Another private agency in the northeastern area and one in the Middle West are in agreement in stressing an understanding application of definitive treatment in dealing with children.

A summary of this material indicates that there are two kinds of qualifications sought: first, personal competence and, second, the acquisition of certain knowledges and skills and the ability to apply them in a variety of situations.

One of the essential steps in planning for training of child welfare workers which will meet the requirements of employing agencies is a careful definition by state and county welfare departments and by local private agencies of the services that should be available for all children in every city and county; then a thoughtful appraisal of the skills necessary to provide these services.

A responsibility of the schools would seem to be a selective admissions procedure. After selection is made on the basis of the best judgment of a committee with regard to the applicant's intelligence, attitudes, personality, health, experience, emotional and social maturity, a careful evaluation of the accepted student's work and potentialities should be made at the end of the first semester to determine the advisability of her continuing in the school for further training.

As a basis for determining personality requirements for specialization in the field of child welfare, an analysis could be made of the factors that entered into successful practice of those child welfare workers who through adequate performance on the job were able to develop or assist in the development of sound child welfare programs.

There appears to be a need for a more concerted effort on the part of schools and agencies to plan together for sys-

tematic application of theoretical knowledge. Theory and practice advance together. Integration of the two kinds of knowledge, theoretical and practical, is one of the problems always present in specialized education for any profession.

An agency may expect, when a worker is graduated from a school of social work, that she is competent to handle any situation and to take upon herself personal responsibility for making professional judgments without outside help or consultation. The worker may expect the same protected, carefully supervised situation she experienced in field work. As a consequence, the agency will be disappointed, and the worker will feel frustrated if she is placed in a position to take full responsibility when she is not prepared for it. A period of experience similar to the internship of graduate medical students might be a valuable preparation for the responsibility inherent in the job of the professional social worker. It would also give the worker an opportunity to achieve that quality referred to by agencies as "maturity on the job."

While a wide range of courses has been suggested, one is impressed more with the similarities than with the differences in the suggestions and with the emphasis given to what schools generally feel is the heart of professional education—case work, supervised field work, psychiatric information, child care and protection, and the philosophy of social work. One is surprised to find so little mention of courses dealing with public welfare. Perhaps this is implied in the references to agency organization, budgets, etc.; but one misses something broader with regard to public welfare developments in this country and to the philosophy of public welfare.

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## FEEDING EAST LONDON CHILDREN IN WARTIME

J. E. B. WRIGHT

TWO miles east of the Tower of London, where the murky waters of the Thames ebb and flow between massive wharves and warehouses, stands "The Grapes," the old riverside tavern where Charles Dickens lived and wrote. The old inn is dwarfed by the giant loading cranes and ocean-going ships which berth in the Limehouse Reach. For the second time in my generation the peace of the waterside had been shattered by the thunder of war, and, this time, all London was a front-line battlefield. The pompous gentry and rough seafaring men who owned and manned the brigs and schooners which were the pride of Victorian England no longer graced the beerhouses of the dockside; in their places you would find men and women soldiers of the Balloon Barrage and Anti-aircraft commands; Army engineers of the bomb-disposal squads; fire-fighters, poison-gas experts, air-raid wardens, and other personnel of the Civil Defense Services.

From the saloon bar door of "The Grapes" a white line leads over the granite surface of the narrow street to the front gate of a Limehouse school. During the war years I worked in this school for a thousand nights and days when the Nazis blasted, burned, and bled us with their bombs and rockets. This white-painted line, two hundred yards long and four inches wide, had been a co-operative effort of the local Civil Defense workers so that they might follow it through the pitch-black nights, during the lulls in air bombardment, to refresh themselves with well-earned pints of old ale.

### WHERE TWO THOUSAND ATE AND SLEPT

My school, together with three hundred others in London, had been turned into a feeding-and-sleeping center. The spacious rooms on the ground floor had been shored up with many tons of steel girders, and the windows blocked in with blastproof walls. Classrooms had been converted into bunkhouses, kitchens, dining-halls, restrooms, writing-rooms, nurseries, a hospital, children's playrooms, staffrooms, and offices for the supervisors, doctors, and welfare advisers. In this frail fortress two thousand persons could eat and sleep. On the upper floors teachers still made the educational system function until the sirens blew, when the six hundred children were marshaled down the stairs to the blastproof rooms to continue with their work.

Staffs of doctors, nurses, house assistants, cooks, and kitchen workers were on duty night and day to provide medical and surgical aid, hot drinks, food, beds, clothing, sympathy, and encouragement to hundreds of men, women, and children whose homes had been blown up by the Nazi bombs. Into the schools they came for help and protection, bringing a few battered and treasured possessions, which included cats and dogs, talking parrots, and singing canaries, for cages and kennels were provided for domestic pets. Even goats and monkeys came, and accommodation was found for them.

Among our many duties that which took precedence over all others was the care and feeding of the children. They had first call on all reserves of food; and every day, under the strained atmosphere of empty skies or under the menace

of fly-bombs and rockets, five hundred of them sat down at noon to a meal which was as substantial as wartime supplies would permit.

#### AMERICAN VISITORS

Some of our happiest hours were spent when Americans came to visit us in Limehouse. We had a grand time with Newspaperman Nat Barrows, who wrote a story for the *Chicago Daily News* about nine-year-old Sadie Barton and the doll we rescued for her from the rubble of her bombed home. Her passion for Nat still flickers bravely under the blight of Nat's extended absence, although Sadie is now a senior girl. Federal Housing Expert Jacob Crane and U.N.R.R.A.'s "Bill" Phillips spent a day with us and met the veterans at "The Grapes." So did I. A. R. Wylie, who told a little of our story in her book, *Flight to England*. Trade-unionist Courtney Ward came from Cleveland and talked of the kind of world he wanted when Hitler had been knocked out. We liked Ward and his brave new world. Soldiers, sailors, and flyers came, too, bringing thrills for the boys and heart throbs for the girls. It was in this school, across three thousand miles of ocean, that Lieutenant Bud Mervin, U.S.N., and Red Cross Major Bob Curtis renewed a schoolboy friendship after a break of fifteen years. That night I visited several taverns with Bud and Bob to toast that reunion while fly-bombs buzzed and crashed about us. As he stood in the Prospect of Whitby's veranda taproom, which is built over the river, Bud read the notice: "Cakes and ale have been served in this tavern since the year 1024." Bud looked at it with a straight eye and in his fast mellowing voice paid us a charming compliment, "Well, here *is* a culture and a nation which *has* lasted a thousand years."

It was a big responsibility to feed

250,000 children during five years of air raids. We accepted that task and made our plans to carry it out under war conditions. If a bomb blasted the school, you swept up the rubble and carried on. If the water was cut off, you had storage tanks for emergency use. There were four independent systems of cooking; if the gas and electricity failed, you could still cook on the hard fuel or the oil ranges. Reserves of food were stored in widely dispersed places so that if one was destroyed, the others were still available. If all food stores were hit but if the dining-room and kitchen could still function, there were five hundred other schools with food stores in London ready to send you supplies. Many London schools were destroyed during the war, stocks of food ruined, and staffs killed or injured; but the plans made for mutual aid and rapid emergency action were so adequate that the heaviest bombings failed to cause any serious breakdown.

#### THE EMERGENCY WAS MET

Three months before the end of the war my school was hit by a flying bomb. The bomb hit us during the middle of the night, destroyed two blocks of flats and many houses, and damaged a power station. One of my food stores was completely destroyed, and the supplies of water, gas, and electricity all failed; but the school hospital, dining-hall, and kitchen could still function, although they were littered with glass and debris. In an hour we were receiving casualties and dispatching others to the main hospitals in ambulances. By dawn we had taken in two hundred men, women, and children; we had served a thousand cups of tea and hundreds of hot meals prepared on an oil-burning cooker; we fed fire-fighters, rescue workers, and police who worked outside by the light of flares. The next day we moved on to another

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school with our staff, our children, and all we could salvage from the wreck.

Throughout the war it was laid down that every child should be able to buy a two-course midday meal at school for a maximum cost of 5*d.* (ten cents per meal), each meal containing at least 1,000 calories, 30 grams of fat, and 25 grams of protein. In the near future about five million British school children will have a free midday meal. In Limehouse, during the war, we served five hundred thousand school meals. Only a limited range of foodstuffs was available; strictly rationed supplies of fresh meat, offal, butter, margarine, cooking fat instead of lard, cheese, bacon, sugar, canned meats and fish, jam, syrup, milk, flour, bread, suet, dried fruit, rice, oatmeal, barley, cornflour, and custard powder. There were no eggs and only short supplies of fresh fruit in the summer and none in the winter. Most of our children under seven years had never seen a grapefruit, a banana, a lemon, or an orange. The only foods which were plentiful for children were dried milk and dried eggs, potatoes, and fresh green vegetables.

Waste of food was a serious problem of school feeding during the war years. I tried all kinds of experiments to reduce it. In 1941, when greens were cooked in an old-fashioned way by simmering in plenty of water, only eight pounds were being eaten out of every thirty pounds cooked. When greens were chopped, cooked quickly in a little water, and served hot and crisp, every scrap was eaten.

#### "CHILD CONSUMER OPINION"

I conducted investigations into the trends of "child consumer opinion." The children voted on the lines of the Gallup Poll, and thus I was able to ascertain changes in their opinions about food.

They were also invited to comment freely in essays on likes and dislikes and to make suggestions for improvements in the organization and catering service. A locked suggestion postbox was placed in the school, and into it came a dozen letters each week from the children which the teaching staff were not permitted to read—a practice which gave the catering staff completely unfettered opinions. From these polls, essays, and letters, opinion was tabulated; and the requests of the children were met so long as they measured up to good diet.

The quantity of food cooked each day for five hundred children allowed for the serving of second helpings to only two hundred and fifty. A committee of children was appointed to draw up a fair roster to be followed in serving these extras—infants one day, girls the next, and boys the third.

The menus were so varied that the children never knew what they were to eat until they read the menu board a few minutes before the meal was served. When a child asked for a complete menu which was good diet, this meal was prepared and served with a simple ceremony in which the child's name was announced to the whole school and the child complimented on having chosen a well-balanced meal.

Besides the elimination of waste, these experiments produced other good results. The children felt that they were being considered because the teaching and catering staffs were interested in their likes and dislikes, and their general behavior and individual table manners improved accordingly.

#### LIKES AND DISLIKES

The "Gallup" polls gave us a clear indication of the foods which were popular with the children. Table 1 lists the results of the 1945 polls. In spite of the

popular vote shown in the table (2,012), sausages were not served to the children because of their lack of vitamin content until the Ministry of Food ordered that soya flour should be used in their manufacture.

During the war years I received over three thousand letters about food from

Limehouse girls and boys over six years of age. Many of these communications contained intelligent suggestions for improvements and very frank and outspoken criticism about food and catering arrangements. No child was ever questioned, derided, or penalized for any comment made in these letters, for they

TABLE 1  
LIKES AND DISLIKES OF EAST LONDON CHILDREN'S TASTES IN FOOD, 1945

Food	Number of Votes Recorded FOR	Number of Votes Recorded AGAINST	Food	Number of Votes Recorded FOR	Number of Votes Recorded AGAINST
<b>Meats:</b>			<b>Salads—Continued:</b>		
Shepherd's pie.....	2,085	8	Beetroot salad.....	1,994	62
Boiled bacon.....	2,006	14	Cucumber.....	1,946	87
Roast lamb.....	1,842	26	Chicory.....	1,876	102
Cornish pasty.....	1,821	31	Lettuce.....	1,846	104
Stewed steak.....	1,814	127	Watercress.....	1,777	188
Roast pork.....	1,126	983	Celery.....	1,692	205
Roast beef.....	885	1,102	Potato salad.....	1,688	210
Boiled mutton.....	216	1,923			
Minced veal.....	43	1,993	<b>Sweets:</b>		
Roast veal.....	28	2,041	Canned pineapple.....	2,081	3
			Canned blackberries.....	2,007	4
<b>Offal:</b>			Canned loganberries.....	1,988	12
Sausages.....	2,012	84	Pancakes (batter of dried		
Sausage toad.....	1,694	322	milk, dried egg, flour, and		
Liver.....	1,546	464	lemon essence).....	1,810	27
Stuffed Hearts.....	286	1,408	Manchester tart (jam and		
			custard, pastry with 1 lb.		
<b>Vegetables:</b>			dried milk to every 8 lb.		
Chipped potatoes (fried in			of flour).....	1,776	29
margarine).....	2,106	2	Rice pudding (made with		
Chopped greens (no bicar-			fresh milk).....	1,458	38
bonate of soda).....	1,848	81	Suet syrup pudding.....	1,342	41
Beetroot (in vinegar).....	1,823	82	War toffee (made with dried		
Fried onions.....	1,761	94	milk, flour, syrup, fine		
Raw carrots.....	1,707	168	oatmeal, and dried fruit).....	1,341	69
Tomatoes.....	1,662	179	Oatmeal biscuits (made		
Cauliflower.....	1,197	619	with dried milk, gelatine,		
Peas (garden).....	1,192	624	sugar, fine oatmeal, flour).....	1,311	84
Peas (canned).....	1,178	801	Canned peaches.....	1,298	212
Peas (dried).....	208	1,388	Apple pie.....	1,127	326
Cooked carrots.....	74	1,484	Spotted dog (suet pudding		
Turnips.....	38	1,962	with currants).....	1,078	988
Parsnips.....	4	2,108	Baked custard (made with		
			fresh milk).....	609	1,466
<b>Canned meats:</b>			Tapioca pudding.....	125	2,110
American luncheon meat...	2,380	1	Rice pudding (made with		
Corned beef.....	1,466	281	with dried milk).....	2	2,312
Minced meat loaf.....	16	1,112			
<b>Salads:</b>			<b>Miscellaneous:</b>		
Salmon mayonnaise.....	2,160	5	Marzipan (made with soya,		
Herring hors d'œuvres.....	2,142	9	flour, sugar, syrup, dried		
Stuffed tomatoes.....	2,109	22	milk, and almond essence).....	1,894	84
Russian salad.....	2,102	37	Raw cheese.....	1,834	321
Spiced sauce.....	2,007	43	Shredded wheat.....	1,210	655
			Cornflakes.....	547	922

were regarded as private communications between the children and myself; no teacher or member of my staff was allowed to read them. In Table 2 appear some of the comments which were made.

The children's feelings were shown by the loud cheers given whenever they found American luncheon meat on their

The children knew that both the food and the bombers were on their side.

The parents of these children were conscious of the debt they owed to Americans for many material kindnesses, for garments which clothed them after everything they had owned had been bombed or burned, and for all the fight-

TABLE 2  
COMMENTS BY EAST LONDON CHILDREN CONCERNING WARTIME  
FOOD AND CATERING ARRANGEMENTS

	No. of Children*		No. of Children*
<i>Unfavorable Comment:</i>		Please do away with the Black Hole of	
We do not get enough Spam.....	82	Calcutta, at once, because it is de-	
The rice pudding last Monday was lousy	8	grading to boys of my age [thirteen]	
Please, sir, may we have separate mugs		[This is a reference to a small room off	
for drinking water.....	8	the main dining-hall into which badly	
For God's sake, stop the teachers from		behaved children were sent to eat	
forcing the infants to eat food they do		their meal in isolation].....	1
not like.....	6		
We think the infants should have a		<i>Favorable Comment:</i>	
bigger dinner.....	6	The cooking is good.....	186
We do not get our fair share of extras be-		The staff is kind to me.....	172
cause the girls (boys) are favored...	4	I feel safe at school dinners because of the	
Tell the cook to steam the potatoes prop-		iron pillars [steel girders].....	144
erly—they are a wet mess.....	2	The dinner is always hot.....	138
The minced meat last Friday was like a		I can sit with my friends and talk....	76
mess of muck and water—it made me		The staff do not grumble when we make	
sick.....	1	a noise.....	34
We do not like all the boys to be pun-		I am not forced to eat food which I do	
ished for something which one boy has		not like.....	20
done but will not own up. You know		There is plenty of fruit.....	19
the law of Limehouse, sir, well enough		We get things we choose by voting....	17
—no snitching!.....	1	After my dinner I can sit by the fire	
The food is too rich.....	1	where it is warm.....	14
Stop putting dried milk in the mashed		I like writing a letter about meals be-	
potatoes—it is like eating dry starch	1	cause it is taken notice of.....	6

\* Making the same or similar comment.

dinner plates. It was the food which always received the highest number of votes in the school polls. It was served about once a week, which means that during the war years, in my school alone, five tons of it were eaten. Every Limehouse child thinks of America in terms of canned meat and of the Flying Fortresses, which were seen so many times flying south and east to their targets.

ing men and materials given in such generous measure, which helped to put an end to the bombings and the burnings. But what counted for most to Limehouse folks was to see American friends in their midst, to talk to them, and to know that some of them were in London, sharing the terrible experiences of the war years.

LONDON, ENGLAND



## PSYCHIATRIC CASE WORK IN AN ARMY AIR FORCE HOSPITAL

LOUIS J. SCHULDT

THE function of social case work is to enable an individual to make his best adjustment to the demands of social living. Within a community these demands are for adequate physical, cultural, and moral living standards. Psychiatric social case work, functioning through various social agencies, attempts to assist individuals manifesting mental illnesses or abnormal behavior in their adjustments to these demands. Within the army the same demands exist; however, they are accentuated by factors of regimentation, restrictions, and rigidity. Psychiatric social case work within the army adapts its principles and techniques to the problems of this "military social living."

A number of civilian-trained social workers were able to secure assignments as social workers in the army before the army classification system formally recognized them. In November, 1943, the army ground forces adopted a military occupational specialty number of 263 social workers. A month later a study was published listing 27 civilian-trained social workers working with psychiatrists in military hospitals, rehabilitation centers, and replacement training centers.<sup>1</sup> The various phases of military psychiatric social work in mental-hygiene units and consultation services, as well as in the above-named military settings, have been described in the literature since then.

This article outlines the adaptation of the techniques of social case work to the needs an army air force regional hos-

pital. The psychiatrist expressed a desire for additional information about the patients, and it was this need that gave impetus to the development of the various phases of the program. The workers found they could secure significant collateral material for the psychiatrist through the correspondence facilities of the Red Cross, through interviews with military personnel, and through perusal of military records. The psychiatrist used these social data in the study and diagnosis of the patients' conditions. This article also describes the development of the clerical and administrative phases of this work as well as the use of members of the staff as lecturers in mental hygiene and in the army's program of orientation.

Since May, 1943, psychiatric case work has played a vital part in the work of the neuropsychiatric service of the Hammer Field Army Air Force Hospital at Fresno, California. At that time the writer contacted the psychiatrist of the hospital, Captain George C. McDaniel, and was assigned to help him. The writer was reclassified, since he had been trained by the army as an X-ray technician. The social work staff shortly thereafter was increased to two. At various times a psychologist was assigned to the department; and at present the staff consists of four enlisted men, one of whom is a psychologist, working under the direction of the psychiatrist and one ward officer.

### DEVELOPMENT OF CASE WORK

The psychiatrist always stressed the importance of knowing the background

<sup>1</sup> *The News Letter of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*, summer, 1944, pp. 1-12.

of the patient's behavior in order to study and diagnose the psychiatric condition presented. He found it difficult at times to secure sufficient material from the patient, since the interviews were necessarily brief. Sometimes a psychotic patient would have to be hospitalized immediately, and no time could be taken by the medical officer at the dispensary to record the details and circumstances of the patient's behavior. It was the immediate need for this information that gave impetus to the development of case-work services. The epithet "leg man" was given to the case worker by the psychiatrist because of the work the case worker performed in interviewing informants throughout the post for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the patient's behavior. The reports of witnesses added objectivity and fullness to the clinical picture.

This emphasis on the need for collateral information developed two broad channels of work for the department—first, the gathering of data about the patient from personnel in the patient's organization; second, contact directly by the military social worker or by an American Red Cross worker with parents and relatives. Subsequently, enlisted men seen in the neuropsychiatric out-patient clinic also were referred to the workers for this type of data. After Red Cross data or organization history was secured, the patient was either asked to return to the clinic for final evaluation or hospitalized, if that was deemed necessary.

Medical officers in charge of non-psychiatric wards in the hospital frequently referred their patients to the neuropsychiatric service for consultation. The psychiatrist would occasionally indicate a need for further information regarding family or military history to complete the clinical picture.

*The securing of social histories from relatives.*—The Red Cross facilities were used originally for confirmation by telegram of such clear-cut entities as enuresis and epilepsy. Within a short time, however, the need developed for more comprehensive information regarding these types and others as well. A form letter was prepared by the case workers for the use of the hospital Red Cross in requesting pertinent data from Red Cross chapters in home communities. On the basis of an interview with the patient, the case worker indicated the particular information he wanted included in the letter. The professional staff of the hospital Red Cross office dictated this material into the form letter. The present form letter given below has been in use, with minor changes, since the procedure was first introduced. Replies were received within an average period of two or three weeks. These replies were submitted to the psychiatrist. Decision on hospital patients was often deferred until the Red Cross social history was received, or, if the history was significant, a discharged patient would be asked to return to the out-patient clinic. An enlisted man known only as an out-patient was notified to return for a second interview in the clinic after the Red Cross history was received.

All cases except severe psychotics were interviewed before drawing up the referral letter, and the worker informed the patient that the letter was being sent. The worker had the opportunity in this interview to learn the names and addresses of relatives other than next of kin listed on the hospital face sheet. Other collateral contacts requested included employers, ministers, schools, social agencies, courts, doctors, and hospitals. In the case of medical references, the worker asked the patient to sign a medical authorization form permitting the

doctor or hospital to give the necessary information. The form read:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I hereby authorize a representative of the American Red Cross to secure from..... any medical information concerning my physical or mental condition.

Frequently the patient objected to a Red Cross worker's calling at his home, out of fear that his parents or wife would become alarmed unduly about his condition. In such cases the worker, in closing the interview, mentioned that he would see the patient again in a day or two and at that time again would interpret the need for the inquiry. Experience proved that in the second interview the patient usually agreed to the referral. Often he was asked to write an independent letter to his relatives to allay any concern they might have when the Red Cross worker visited. In some instances the patient did not want certain individuals in the household, such as siblings or in-laws, to know of his hospitalization and condition. The case worker then provided the patient with the address of the Red Cross chapter headquarters in the patient's community, in order that the patient could write to the desired informant to arrange for a private interview away from the home.

The case worker requested clinical abstracts from other military hospitals through the hospital registrar. In a proportionately few cases, the case worker contacted directly relatives, usually wives, living in the city near the base. An example of the Red Cross referral letter is given below. The italic sections were a part of each referral letter.

*This is in regard to Pvt. J..... L....., a white (colored) soldier, age 21, who has been admitted to this hospital for psychiatric observation (or) who has come to the attention of the*

*neuropsychiatric clinic. The attending physician has requested us to obtain the patient's medical and social histories to assist him in making the diagnosis. We are inclosing a social history guide for your convenience.<sup>2</sup>*

Pvt. L..... reported to sick call in his organization because he felt he was becoming tense and did not wish his condition to become acute. He mentions that last March he did not report about his condition; that he became tense, lacked an appetite, could not sleep, finally became indifferent about everything and went absent without leave. He stayed with his wife, who was expectant at that time, until June, when she insisted that he return. He mentioned that only his wife knew he was absent without leave at the time. We can find no record of a Red Cross investigation made by you regarding an emergency furlough for wife's confinement.

The patient's wife has been given your address, and we have asked the patient to have her call at your office. She is now staying with her folks, and patient did not want his father-in-law and mother-in-law to know about this. The wife's address is....., Washington.

We are interested to learn of any such occurrences or instances of tenseness in civilian life, as well as any social agency records on the family. We understand from the patient that he was known to the police on one occasion when homosexuals in the community were being investigated. His wife is not aware of that investigation, and we have told the patient that she will not be informed of it by you; however, we should appreciate a knowledge of the police record.

The soldier's parents, Mr. and Mrs....., live at....., Washington. *You may reassure (her) that (her son) is in good general health except for the condition mentioned above. We are anxious to obtain a report as to whether or not any such condition existed prior to his military service. We wonder if there were any indications in childhood, such as continued bed-wetting, nightmares, irrational fears, temper tantrums, or stammering. If there is a family physician, we should appreciate a report from him; also the clinical abstracts of any pertinent hospitalizations. (A work report would be helpful.)*

*We should also appreciate your impression of the family's social and economic status and their attitude toward the soldier's military service. In*

<sup>2</sup> This guide is omitted when inquiries are made of large metropolitan Red Cross chapters.

his letters home has he complained of homesickness, nervousness, anxiety, dislike of discipline, or inability to get along with the other men.

No decision has been made as to the nature of his condition nor the disposition to be made. The doctor has, therefore, suggested that you avoid any remark which might lead the family to believe that the soldier will be returning home within the near future.

As it is essential that the doctor have this information as quickly as possible, we shall hope to hear from you by (a date two weeks from writing). Please send your report in two copies. Thank you for your co-operation in this case.

Very truly yours,

Over a period of six months in 1944, the case workers referred 103 new cases to the Red Cross for additional data. On these 103 cases the Red Cross prepared and sent out 180 letters, requesting information from 425 different sources. Replies, received on an average within twenty days, contained information from 485 sources. Table 1 indicates relatives and collateral sources from whom information was requested and received.

*Securing data from personnel of organizations.*—When the psychiatrist requested organizational data, the case worker informed the patient that he was interested in contacting the personnel of his squadron. The first contacts with squadron personnel were the result of the psychiatrist's request for more information about seizures that epileptics had had in squadron areas prior to hospitalization. The case workers then were encouraged to contact squadron personnel to intercede for soldiers malassigned. In time the referrals covered a variety of conditions. After hospitalization or before a patient was seen in the clinic, the worker would determine the need and secure essential organizational data.

In view of the transiency in many organizations, an effort was made, with the aid of the patient, to contact his friends who had known him in other units be-

fore his coming to this field. In psychotic cases, the organizational shipping lists were checked to learn of others who "shipped in" with the patient from the former base. These informants, after being assured that the material they gave would be kept in strictest confidence, often were able to provide significant data covering a period of several months. In this way the worker secured informa-

TABLE 1\*

ANALYSIS OF CONTACTS REQUESTED AND MADE FOR PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL HISTORIES THROUGH RED CROSS

REQUESTS AND REPLIES FROM	NUMBER OF	
	Requests†	Replies‡
Parents.....	21	15
Mothers.....	104	99
Fathers.....	30	28
Wives.....	54	53
Brothers and sisters.....	18	37
Other relatives and friends.....	16	18
Civilian hospitals.....	20	22
Doctors.....	53	48
Employers.....	33	37
Schools.....	22	52
Courts.....	37	41
Social agencies.....	17	35
Total.....	425	485

\* A report of the 103 new cases referred to the Red Cross by the department during the six-month period ending June 30, 1944.

† One hundred and eighty letters sent out.

‡ Reply received on the average in twenty days.

tion as to the onset of the patient's disorder, his peculiarities in behavior, the circumstances that may have precipitated the difficulty, and phases of army or personal life that had given concern to the patient. An attempt was made to be as inconspicuous as possible in securing these data. For example, the informant would be interviewed apart from the other men in the orderly room or barracks and would be requested to keep the contact confidential. The commanding officer, or more often the first sergeant,



was usually able to indicate a reliable enlisted man who knew the patient well enough to provide additional information. Barracks mates often gave significant information about the patient's retiring hours, evidences of withdrawal, drinking habits, attitudes toward family problems and personal problems, number of letters the patient wrote and received from home, and similar data. The case worker was particularly attentive to evidences of pre-psychotic or psychotic behavior.

The distance from the military organization was often a handicap in the securing of information. To meet this problem at one neighboring field an enlisted man, a psychologist, was assigned. Medical officers referred enlisted men to him for interviews, reassignment problems, and personality disorders. He referred men from that group to the Hammer Field out-patient clinic, or to the hospital, as the need arose. He prepared a social case history for his own files. A copy of this history would then be forwarded to the hospital.

An enlisted man and an officer of a replacement depot on the field, assigned to classification work there, acted as liaison between the department and that depot before it was re-established on another field. They secured organizational data on patients and out-patients, and provided psychological testing at a time when our department lacked a psychologist on its staff.

A hospital form (SH-9) was mimeographed in order to secure information from organizations on other fields that could not be contacted readily. This form is shown on page 217.

Because the staff received inadequate information through this means, a different method was introduced to secure organizational data on patients admitted from near-by bases. The department pre-

pared a form letter, including about the same questions as on Form SH-9. This form was sent through our hospital Red Cross to the Red Cross director of the near-by base, asking that he contact the commanding officer, first sergeant, enlisted men, and check military records for the information desired.

Through contacts with squadron personnel the worker entered into a direct working relationship with commanding officers and first sergeants. Military personnel were often referred informally for neuropsychiatric attention in this way. When it was a personal problem which the soldier was hesitant to discuss with the medical officer who might happen to be in charge of sick call that day, the case workers made arrangement so that the referral to the psychiatrist by the medical officer was done perfunctorily. The case worker, in contacting squadron personnel about a new case, interpreted psychiatric opinions both on men who had been returned to duty in that squadron and on men for whom separation from the service was being recommended after hospital or out-patient study. As the relationship between squadron personnel and workers developed, the department found that it was able to handle more and more situations informally at an early stage.

#### ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

##### I

While discussing the case of another enlisted man, the company commander mentioned the problem of Pvt. S. in the squadron. Pvt. S. at that time was in the hospital for medical treatment. Before study was completed for submittal to attention of psychiatrist, the soldier was discharged from the hospital, so referral was made to neuropsychiatric out-patient clinic. Pvt. S. committed several bizarre acts which prompted his company commander to make the referral.

The worker attempted to gain as accurate a picture as possible of the soldier's behavior man-



ifestations. In order to accomplish this, the soldier was interviewed three or four times prior to referral to psychiatrist. His section chief was contacted, and the worker spoke to the company commander on several occasions. The worker interviewed the foster-"aunt" of the wife soldier had recently married in the community. The worker learned that the wife when younger had been known to the county child

that two months after the marriage his wife came under the influence of another girl and that his wife finally moved away from his quarters and would have nothing to do with him. Soldier did not mention until later that it was after his wife's refusal to live with him that he wired his folks that she had died. His mother made a trip out here at that time to attend the "funeral," only to learn from him that the

## FORM SH-9

(Organization)

Date.....

SUBJECT: Report on Enlisted Man.

To: Surgeon, AAF Regional Station Hospital, Hammer Field, Fresno, California. (ATTN: Chief of Neuropsychiatric Service.)

The following is a report on.....

(Name)

(Grade)

(ASN)

(Organization)

for the purpose of assisting you in determining this soldier's physical and mental fitness for military service:

## a. General Problem:

- (1) Reason for referring enlisted man to medical officer.

## b. Record of Service:

- (1) How long has enlisted man been in your organization?  
 (2) Types of work done by enlisted man while in your organization.  
 (3) Specific reassignments made, reasons for and results of same.  
 (4) General level of performance of duties assigned: Excellent.... Good.... Satisfactory.... Unsatisfactory..... (If unsatisfactory, state why.)  
 (5) Any disciplinary action taken? (State in each case the nature of the soldier's misdemeanor, nature of punishment, and its effectiveness.)  
 (6) Remarks: (State other matter which might help this service to reach an adequate decision.)

## c. Health and Social Adjustment:

- (1) Does enlisted man have any apparent

physical ailments? (If answer is "yes," describe.)

- (2) How does he get along with fellow soldiers?

- (3) Has he ever been classified as Zone of Interior or Limited Service? (If answer is "yes," why?)

- (4) Other remarks:

## d. Fitness for Military Service:

- (1) Do you feel that all reasonable attempts have been made to reclassify and reassign this man? Explain.

- (2) Do you feel that there is any duty assignment in which the government can obtain useful service from this man? Explain.

- (3) What do you recommend as the proper disposition for this man?

(a) Reassignment (To what duty):

(b) Return to present duty:

(c) Other (Explain):

- (4) Other Remarks:

[Signed].....

Commanding Officer

welfare department, and information was secured from her case worker and record. The worker also spoke to the soldier's mother, who made a special trip because of the boy's difficulties. The worker left the responsibility with the soldier to have the wife come to the post for an interview. Soldier never arranged for that interview.

Soldier gave the story of his recent marriage to this girl in the community, after he had "broken up" with his girl back home. He stated

"funeral" was held the day before. The soldier informed his mother that the foster-aunt felt so bad over the death that she was not available. It was not until the foster-aunt wrote the mother, after the latter's arrival home, that the mother learned that the story about the wife's death and funeral was fiction.

Further study and interviewing indicated that soldier had a long history of instability and immaturity. Mother indicated that the early home life was discordant. The father rejected

the soldier and punished him severely. The other siblings complained of soldier's lying and laziness. The worker learned that the wife was industrious and ambitious and that the soldier refused to do his share of the household tasks, even though his wife was working. The mother's attitude toward the soldier's problem was also corrected by this information from the foster-aunt. Through the records of the county child welfare department, the wife's background since childhood was traced.

The use of collateral contacts for information in this case defined the problem of the soldier as one of instability and immaturity. The worker corrected his original impression of the soldier through this additional information. The psychiatrist was subsequently seen in out-patient clinic, a neuropsychiatric certificate was prepared, and the case was closed with the recommendation to his company commander that the man be considered for administrative discharge.

## II

Pvt. L., a W.A.C., was hospitalized on complaints of backache and sore feet. A mild organic condition was discovered. Her commanding officer submitted a report at the time of her admission, and it was as a result of this report that neuropsychiatric consultation was arranged. This report indicated a history of drinking, overstaying passes, and absences without leave covering a period of a year, with attendant company punishment and one court-martial. The worker contacted the first sergeant and another enlisted W.A.C., each of whom stated that patient performed her job well when not intoxicated, but that with her drinking she was undependable. The Red Cross staff in her home community contacted her mother and the family doctor. There was a history of nervousness and ophophobia since childhood. The doctor mentioned two or three marriages that had ended in failure. Her mother was shocked at patient's appearance on a recent furlough prior to hospitalization. While home at that time, W.A.C. drank to excess, although she had never drunk to that extent before.

Because of minimal psychiatric findings, the W.A.C. was recommended for administrative discharge.

### CLERICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

The psychiatrist often called on the workers about dispositions and diag-

noses of former patients. After hospitalizations and recommendations, the staff wanted to know what had happened to the recommendations for administrative action. Thus the department developed a file card system—one for hospitalized patients and one for out-patients. The case workers prepared the daily census—weekly, monthly, and annual statistical or narrative reports of the department. There was a value in knowing the names and number to be seen in the twice-weekly out-patient clinic, for then the worker could gather beforehand any needed information about these out-patients. It also happened that through a procedure of scheduling appointments, an out-patient at times would not have to be interviewed again if a worker was able to inform the referring medical officer of our opinion on the case six or eight months before.

The case workers prepared the psychiatric case histories on Medical Department, U.S. Army, Form 55C-2, *Special Examination or Additional Data*, and these histories then formed a part of the hospital chart. This form was used also for data on out-patients and included in the record if hospitalization ensued. These histories, as indicated above, were based on an interview or interviews with the patient, army personnel records, interviews with commanding officers, chaplains, legal officers, first sergeants, barracks mates, and other collateral sources. Often the workers learned of and reviewed a current or closed Red Cross file. The workers prepared the material topically under the general heads: chief complaint, past medical history, social history, military history, and actual psychiatric findings.

Recently, the case workers gave assistance to the psychiatrist in the preparation of worksheets for certificates of

disability for discharge, as well as help in preparing clinical summaries for disposition board hearings. The case workers also wrote the neuropsychiatric certificates recommending administration action on discharges and the final summaries of the patients' hospitalizations for the charts. All these various reports and outlines were submitted to the psychiatrist for approval.

According to the *Annual Report of the Neuropsychiatric Service for 1944*, slightly less than 40 per cent of the cases known to the service (these include neurological as well as psychiatric cases) were referred to the psychiatric case workers on some basis. The referrals varied from a request for a clinical abstract of another army hospital to a fairly detailed case workup.

Table 2 appeared in the *Annual Report of the Neuropsychiatric Department for 1944* and is a summary of the work of the last six months of that year.

#### UTILIZATION OF CASE-WORK PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES

Within the military setting the psychiatrist and case worker occasionally play the role of father or family to men emotionally starved of the privacy, recognition, and protection afforded by a home and community. The psychiatric patient encounters a new and startling experience when asked by the psychiatrist to reveal information which the patient regards as confidential. He often feels the request is an intrusion into his personal life. The patient often hesitates to discuss a problem, fearing that statements he makes might jeopardize his social position at some future date or that relatives will learn of a condition he has guarded carefully for years. Diagnosis and treatment, however, depend upon an adequate history of the patient's condition. Rapport is an essential factor in securing the patient's co-operation.

Since the worker spent more time on the ward and was more accessible, often the patients first sought out the case worker, in order to discuss their problems. Although each worker had an office of his own, to allow for privacy in interviewing, often the informality of the ward kitchen or common-room made for more freedom of conversation.

TABLE 2

#### RECAPITULATION OF PSYCHIATRIC WORK FROM SIX MONTHLY REPORTS, JULY-DECEMBER 1944

Letters sent out to relatives through Red Cross.....	197
Letters received from relatives through Red Cross.....	171
Letters sent out requesting collateral information through Red Cross.....	148
Letters received containing collateral information through Red Cross.....	137
Interviews with military personnel.....	183
Military records reviewed.....	176
Direct interviews with patients and relatives.....	168
Consultation reports received from other fields.....	140
Psychological tests administered.....	26
Clinical abstracts of military hospitals sent for.....	109
Clinical abstracts of military hospitals received.....	67
Total cases referred.....	321

Co-operation between the workers and wardmen also played an important part. Very early it was noted that, during the evenings, after the professional staff was gone, the patients relaxed and spoke freely to the wardmen. The wardmen were often asked to record, without the patient's knowledge, some of the patient's casual remarks or behavior that seemed significant. The wardmen were advised that they should at no time purposefully probe for information. On one occasion the department wanted information concerning a patient's psychiatric

treatment in a penitentiary. This inquiry was relayed to a wardman who was able to spend several hours a day in close contact with the patient. The patient gave the information to the wardman quite readily, adding that he would not have divulged it to anyone else.

Men who could not adjust to the inevitable military pressures came to the attention of the department. Their military organizations required that a soldier perform full military duty or none at all. This demand was in sharp contrast with psychiatric treatment, which allows the patient to arrive at an understanding of his own problems at his own pace. It was the responsibility of the case workers to interpret to the squadron personnel the need for time and relaxation of strain while the psychiatrist and workers continued treatment.

#### BROADER RELATIONSHIPS OF THE WORK

The workers were aware that the manner in which they treated psychiatric problems influenced the commanding officers and squadron personnel contacted for collateral data. The workers, therefore, emphasized the psychiatric nature of a soldier's problems. In this way, accusations and ridicule by squadron personnel often gave way to understanding and tolerance. The staff noted a healthy change in the manner in which these cases were discussed after a worker made one or two contacts with a squadron.

Among the hospital enlisted personnel an attempt was made constantly to interpret the meaning and function of psychiatry. The psychiatrist as well as the case workers lectured to base personnel on the subject of mental hygiene. With

appreciation of morale building as an important factor in avoiding psychiatric casualties, the case workers, in conjunction with the Plans and Training Department of the hospital, conducted current-event discussion groups.

#### SUMMARY

In this article, the writer has sketched the development and adaptation of psychiatric social work in an army air force hospital since assignment to the department in May, 1943. The psychiatrist gave impetus to the work by indicating a need for additional social data in the study and diagnosis of the patients' conditions. The work developed in response to this need within the limitations of the role and purposes of army psychiatry. The psychiatrist and the workers were able to enter into new areas of service as the program developed. The workers secured needed data through Red Cross facilities, interviews with army personnel, and the perusal of military records. In each contact and procedure, the workers attempted to utilize and adapt to military requirements the principles, techniques, and disciplines of psychiatric case work. The department functioned also to interpret the nature of psychiatric disorders to military personnel informally, through interviews and contacts, and formally, through lectures and psychiatric reports.<sup>3</sup>

GEIGER FIELD  
SPOKANE, WASHINGTON

<sup>3</sup> [EDITORIAL NOTE.—It is hoped that in the September number of the *Review* some comment by a well-known psychiatric social worker may point out certain differences between the methods used in civilian work in comparison with the work in a military setting as here described.]

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## TOMORROW'S PRISON\*

NEGLEY K. TEETERS

TO THOSE who have made a study of the historical evolution of penal treatment it is somewhat anomalous to find in such a dismal field the very essence of romance, drama, courage, and deep-seated conviction. Few would concede that these elements of life could find expression in the prison field, yet such is the case. Before discussing the role played by the prison in the past, it may be of interest to call attention to a few little-known facts that have come to the attention of the writer.

Call it coincidence if you will, but it is of some moment that the word "Norfolk" has more than usual significance in the development of penology. It was in the Wymondham jail in the county of Norfolk, in England, where the principles enunciated by the immortal John Howard were most effectively put into practice by Sir Thomas Beevor in 1785—separate cells were provided, classification of prisoners by types was inaugurated, hard labor with wages was supplied six days of the week; religious instruction and education were also an integral part of the program. Rarely was it found necessary for a prisoner to be disciplined, and almost none was placed in irons.

This regime was heralded far and wide, even though it was in a county jail. On this side of the Atlantic the newly organized (in 1787) Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons issued a pamphlet<sup>2</sup> calling attention to Beevor's progressive philoso-

phy; and it can truly be said that his regime served as the inspiration for the progressive system of prison discipline inaugurated in the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia in 1790, which was the first penitentiary in the world.

The second Norfolk is Norfolk Island, where in 1840 Alexander Maconochie landed with his radical ideas of indefinite or indeterminate sentence. Maconochie found Norfolk Island a hell on earth. To this isolated spot, a thousand miles off the coast of Australia, were sent the vicious convicts of the penal colonies in the Australian area. "Twice condemned," these wretches were called. All had given up hope of ever being released, since their time sentences were so severe that none could live them out. Maconochie was opposed to the time sentence and, as is well known to penologists, set up a series of progressive stages through which the most depraved convicts could pass to freedom if they had the will. Hard work, good behavior, and the will to succeed paid off in dividends almost from the start of a man's sentence. Thus, Norfolk Island is famous in the history of penology as the first practical application of the indeterminate sentence at the hands of Maconochie.

The third time the word Norfolk appears in penology is in Massachusetts, and quite recently. One of the best-constructed prisons in this country is the Norfolk Prison Colony, built, and direct-

\* An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Central Howard Association, Chicago, January, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> *Extracts and Remarks on the Subject of Punishment and Reformation of Criminals, Philadelphia, February 25, 1790.*



ed for several years, by one of our outstanding penologists, Howard B. Gill. This prison featured social case work, a realistic honor system called "shared responsibility" (of guards and prisoners), small living units, an excellent activities program—in short, individualized treatment.

I merely set forth the saga of the word Norfolk, since it presents one of the most interesting coincidences in penal history—three radical experiments all occurring in different parts of the world but all with the same name.

Few realize that the penitentiary as we know it is a relatively recent device for the treatment of convicted offenders. There have always been prisons of a sort, but to them were usually sent, or rather thrown, persons regarded with disfavor by the ruling classes. Criminals were sent to the galleys, banished, executed, or brutally tortured in a hundred vicious ways. Even up to and including our own Colonial times convicted prisoners were placed in stocks and pillories, mutilated, whipped, branded, or hanged. In Philadelphia during the administration of George Washington men were dragged to their public execution past the very door of the executive mansion and followed by the motley rabble. Nowhere does one find a word of protest from Washington against such brutality.

Vagrants, however, were imprisoned as early as the sixteenth century in houses of correction and the county jail, which, in reality, was never intended as a prison but which goes back further in time for the purposes of detention prior to trial.

John Howard is given the credit for urging penitentiary houses for the incarceration of criminals, although we know he got his inspiration from monastic sources, notably from Rome at the

boys' school built by Pope Clement XI, as well as from the workhouses he saw in Belgium and Holland.

Howard believed that reformation could not possibly come from physical punishment but that it might conceivably emanate from a decent form of imprisonment where each man could be kept separated from others at night—that meant individual cells—and exposed to a rigid regime of silence, but which included productive labor, with trade training if necessary, and religious instruction.

The British Parliament was impressed with Howard's plan and passed the Penitentiary Act of 1779. However, since England was at war with her renegade colonies in America, no funds were set aside for the construction of the penitentiaries called for by this piece of legislation. But a number of country justices throughout the realm did build or renovate their jails along the lines enunciated by Howard. For example, Howard stated that "no fewer than forty-two new jails and houses of correction began to be built." Perhaps the most famous of these was, as stated above, that erected by Sir Thomas Beevor at Norfolk in 1785.

A new day dawned in penal treatment in 1790, when the county jail of Philadelphia was transformed into a penitentiary, by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania of April 5, 1790, which called for the reception of convicted felons for the entire state. The renovation of this structure—together with the abolition of its outmoded regime of promiscuous and unclassified treatment, its brutality, its bar operated within the walls by the ignorant keeper, the idleness and despair—is an old and familiar story to all American penologists. The Philadelphia reformers envisaged in this new dispensation a "divine system" of treat-

ment for all criminals, who, they believed, would emerge chastened and reformed. Profitable employment, dignified wages, religious instruction, a program of education, installation of a library, and, above all, a dignified classification system were the essence of the program developed. The new directors of the prison were, in many instances, members of the Philadelphia Prison Society. This organization had a visiting committee whose function was periodically to go to the prison to render physical and spiritual assistance to the inmates and to report back to the Society concerning the status of the administration.

The Walnut Street Jail had its heyday, which lasted barely ten years. Its philosophy was so unusual that it was the mecca for visitors from many European countries as well as from many states in this country. New York reformers were duly impressed and insisted that their state launch forth on a building program to handle its criminals. In due time the Auburn prison was realized. But, as we know, New York failed to visualize the full significance of the philosophy of John Howard and the Philadelphia reformers. Auburn was conceived to exploit the prisoners and to make them pay their way—something, incidentally, that cannot possibly be achieved and something which is inimical to rehabilitation.

But the new experiment of imprisonment failed. In 1820, less than thirty years after its brave inception, the members of the Philadelphia Society made the following lament:

It is with deep regret that the Visiting Committee feel themselves obliged to state, that they have not been able to perceive any reformation among the prisoners; and they are fully convinced the following causes have principally if not entirely prevented that reform which has been so anxiously expected.

1. The unfitness of the present building for a Penitentiary;
2. The want of classification;
3. The crowded state of the prison;
4. The want of employment.<sup>3</sup>

It must be emphasized that this complaint came from those gallant people who pioneered for the penitentiary; who saw in it the basis of true reform; who took John Howard's program literally. And this disillusionment came only thirty years after it had been established. In fact, disquieting reports began to be presented to the Society by its visiting committees a little less than ten years after it had been established.

The Philadelphia Society cherished the conviction that if only a suitable building, properly constructed for the separate and individualized treatment of criminals, could be realized, real reform might result. Thus the Eastern Penitentiary, located in Philadelphia, was conceived in the fertile brain of the famous architect John Haviland and, in due time, was erected. Critics of the so-called "Pennsylvania system" of penal discipline have failed, down through the years, to see in it something that has long been recognized in Britain, for example, as well as in many other European countries—the efficacy of understanding, sympathetic, lay prison visitors calling on the immured men and women to comfort and help them with their personal problems. The keystone of the Pennsylvania system was prison-visiting. This prison was constructed with seven cell-blocks radiating from a center. The Philadelphia Society was delegated by the legislature to be a legal visiting agency so that the membership was divided into seven committees, each charged with the responsibility of calling upon the men in each of the seven

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Visiting Committee for 1820.

blocks. Spiritual comfort, encouragement, and advice as to a life-plan were supplied these individuals by the visitors, all of whom were Philadelphia's leading citizens. I shall discuss this service in some detail later.

It was stated above what the actual founders of the penitentiary thought of its failure as a reforming institution. The French commissioners, De Beaumont and De Tocqueville, who were visiting this country in 1833 in order to recommend a penitentiary plan for adoption in France, said: "The experience of Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, Newgate Prison in New York and Charlestown Prison in Boston have led not to a penitentiary system but to a bad system of imprisonment, a system which never effected the reformation of the prisoners." Later, in 1867, after many states had set up extravagant prison structures costing millions of dollars, Theodore Dwight and Enoch C. Wines, both astute prison men, made a survey of the prisons of America; and here is their conclusion: "There is not a state prison in America in which the reformation of the convict is the supreme object of the discipline."

The *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, one of the most ambitious studies of penal practices ever conceived, makes the following startling statements about the "state of prisons" in 1937:

In the final reckoning, the fifty years which followed the opening of the Auburn prison, though years of great activity in prison development and administration, did not produce a single lasting contribution to penology. . . . The system of prison discipline . . . degenerated into nothing more than a cruel and inhuman system of enforcing the personal notions of individual prison officials chiefly with reference to institutional and industrial productivity utterly unrelated to criminality. . . .

The most that can be said for this period of American prison history is that, despite all its stupidities and cruelties, it was better than a return to the barbarities of capital and corporal punishment for crime. . . . In 1937 the state of prisons in America was not unlike that reported to the Visiting Committee of the Philadelphia Society in 1820.<sup>4</sup>

Lest we feel too hopeful that the prisons of 1946 are better than those of 1937, it should be stated that a description of the practices as found in Volume V of this *Survey*, published in 1940, is substantially the same.

Let me briefly quote what some of our leaders in penology have said or written about the prison. William Healy, as early as 1915, spoke of "the psychic contagion" of incarceration. Frank Tannenbaum, for many years a careful student of prison practices, has the following to say about the reformatory, that other monstrosity wished upon a trustful public back in the 1880's: "The reformatory does not reform. . . . It belies its name, it is not a reformatory at all. It is perhaps a prison for junior offenders." The Osborne Association, in a report made in 1929, contends that "there is no place in the reformatory for either the traditional guard or the traditional mass treatment of the prison. Yet both are found in many reformatories for men in the country." These are, in reality, mild words indeed. The Wickersham Committee of 1931 states:

The gathering of a group of offenders under one roof . . . creates a milieu through the common unit of selection—the commission of crime. Naturally, then, crime will be the principal interest of the members of this milieu, their common tie, their first and chief topic of conversation. Here is an atmosphere in which crime is something to be admired. Such a milieu will go far toward solidifying delinquent behavior patterns already acquired.

<sup>4</sup> United States Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, Vol. V: *Prisons* (1940), p. 38.

I need not expatiate further. We could and perhaps should say a word about the findings of the Gluecks in their analysis of the careers of 510 young men released from the Concord, Massachusetts, reformatory. They found that approximately 80 per cent of the cases failed to reform and turned again to criminal acts. In justice to these men, however, many of them did turn away from delinquency after they had aged considerably. But that laudable result cannot be laid at the door of the prison—they reformed in spite of their prison experience. Here, then, is the much vaunted penitentiary and reformatory system conceived so bravely a hundred and fifty years ago for the cure of criminals.

In the gradual, evolutionary development of the penitentiary, it is strange that so little emphasis was placed on the concept of punishment. Rather, the concept of reform was stressed by all who wrote on the efficacy of imprisonment. Even the tyrant of Auburn and Sing Sing, Captain Elam Lynds, spoke of reformation. However, he was of the opinion that reformation could not begin until the prisoner's spirit was broken or bent to the will of the warden.

But, in spite of the panegyrics emanating from the reports of prison wardens on the philosophy of imprisonment, punishment was there in all its vicious elements. There can be no mistaking the fact—imprisonment is punishment and no matter how progressive the regime may be, loss of liberty and incarceration in such an abnormal milieu as a prison can be nothing but punishment pure and simple. John C. Burke, former warden of the Wisconsin State Prison, says: "Prisons do punish. They always have and they probably always will. The law specifically states that this is to be so;

judges affirm it from the bench; and the prisoner learns it at first hand. Let the public make no mistake about this."

Now, there are those who maintain that we cannot reform and punish at the same time. Regardless of whether we may or may not agree with this conviction, the fact remains that the prison has had to compromise with both punishment and reformation. What happens is that neither philosophy is successful. While we work with two opposing theories, the prisoner is caught and squeezed between them. As one writer expresses it: "Men who in prison [are] exemplary in discipline and pious in sentiment are frequently turned out as failures, violating parole, committing new crimes and being anything but valuable members of society." This is no indictment of parole as a philosophy but rather a statement which indicates the difficulty of picking reformed men in the prison.

I wish to state emphatically my position here. I feel that the prison has been a colossal failure; that it is an anachronism in these days of modern concepts of psychiatry, social case work, and probation; that it cannot be defended in terms other than punishment and degradation. Thus if punishment and humiliation of the human spirit have merit—and it may be true that they have—by all means keep your prisons.

But if we are concerned about returning convicted men and women to a free society, we must radically overhaul our thinking. We may use the prison structure for what good there may be found in it, objectively. In short, we must get the men out of prison as soon as possible and into the free community with its agencies of reformation. We cannot expect reformation within the framework of the existing institution. We have seen that



realists for the last hundred years have insisted that prisons do not reform.

Now let us look briefly at modern penology—that is, the so-called “New Penology,” which frankly accepts the prison as a necessary evil and desperately tries to “patch up” the outmoded system. We have it with us, so, apparently, we must see what we can do with it. As I have already broadly hinted I am skeptical of it, dressed up as it is found in many individual units throughout the country. But it is a heroic attempt to make the thing work.

Modern penology stems from a wide variety of experiments conducted throughout the years in a wide variety of institutional situations. Space does not permit an enumeration of the brave experimentation that has characterized the development of the prison as we see it today. However, one interesting innovation merits citation, since it is typical of the trend that may be observed in American penal administration.

Old Charlestown Prison in Boston was opened in 1805. It was, and still is, one of the most repressive institutions in this country. It is an old Bastille structure and for many years followed the vicious nineteenth-century Auburn type of administration. Convicts there, as well as in every other prison, were locked in their cells at dusk each day and were released at dawn the next day in order to do their stint in the workshops. Week-ends and holidays found the inmates locked up tight as a drum. But in 1864, on July 4, Warden Gideon Haynes decided to experiment. He would permit the men to enjoy the fresh air and the sunshine of the jail yard for an hour on this glorious Independence Day. This was something hitherto unheard of. He describes the occasion: “After the men were assembled for a moment all was silent. The shout

that then burst forth from those four hundred throats, the delirium of delight into which they were immediately plunged, at once relieved me from all fear as to the result. They shook hands, embraced one another, laughed, shouted, danced, and cried. . . . At the first stroke of the bell every voice was hushed; silently and quietly they fell into line in their respective divisions. . . in their usual good order, passed into their cells.”<sup>5</sup>

There is nothing to indicate that Warden Haynes had consulted the newspapers, the judges, the legislators, or anyone else before he attempted this humane experiment. He merely used his initiative and courage. This episode occurred in 1864; not until 1875, eleven years later, again on July 4, was it attempted in another prison; this time in Joliet by Warden R. W. McClaughry. McClaughry describes the incident in these words: “There they talked, laughed and sang, engaged in athletic sports, and improvised minstrel performances to their hearts’ content, while the occasion was enlivened with instrumental music by the Wheaton cornet band.”<sup>6</sup>

Much of what has been done in penology was the courageous work of wardens of vision, initiative, and insight; men who dared to treat their fellow-men as human beings. One can have little patience with prison men who fear public ridicule and censure. It is the task of wardens to nurse their public along. Courage, initiative, a sense of timing, and a degree of good humor can do wonders with reactionary editorial writers, legislators, and other persons bent on

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Frederick G. Pettigrove, “The State Prisons of the United States under Separate and Congregate Systems,” in Henderson’s *Penal and Reformatory Institutions*, Vol. II of *Correction and Prevention* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1910), p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



sabotaging a constructive prison program.

Perhaps the most significant and far-reaching innovation to gain entree in the prison is the diagnostic or classification clinic which made its debut about twenty-five years ago in the state of New Jersey. But even this concerted effort to understand the clientele of the prison had its pioneers in a variety of fields, notably in psychology and psychiatry. The psychiatric studies of Bernard Glueck at Sing Sing and of Edith R. Spaulding at Westfield Reformatory for Women in New York State set off a distinctive trend in this field. The clinical psychological studies of E. A. Doll in New Jersey and William T. Root at the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh gave impetus to this type of diagnosis in our prisons during the years following 1918. The Federal Bureau of Prisons, newly renovated under Sanford Bates following 1925, set the pace for other systems to follow suit so that in recent years practically every state system has come to boast some sort of classification service. We should not overlook the fact, however, that diagnostic clinics were introduced much earlier abroad. José Ingenieros set up such a center in Buenos Aires as early as 1905, and Louis Vervaeck did likewise in Belgium at approximately the same time.

Space does not permit an analysis of the work of diagnosis and treatment in the modern prison. Suffice it to state that the essence of the new penology, aside from providing the basic physical needs of the prisoner, such as decent housing, wholesome food, proper medical attention, and the like, is classification and reclassification at periodic intervals with the end in view of diagnosing and preparing men for release.

Worthy as all these services are and

important as psychology and psychiatry may be, it is the development of social case work in the prison that has brought to penal treatment perhaps the most important aspect of therapy, one that must be expanded in the future. There are few prisons today where such a service has any meaning whatsoever, in spite of the demonstrated value of this technique in a wide variety of situations in the free community. For many years now the Pennsylvania Prison Society has been working with inmates of the Eastern Penitentiary, Huntingdon Reformatory, and the new reformatory at White Hill, near Harrisburg. These trained social case workers have been welcomed by the administrations because they have demonstrated their effectiveness in assisting the inmate with his personal problems as well as in developing a parole plan for each that is acceptable not only to the proper authorities but also to the inmate himself.

I do not pose as a social case worker. I may add that I am not so trained that I understand all of the philosophy of the field of social work. Yet, as I see it in operation I am convinced of its value, since much of its technique is based on pure common sense and logic.

The prison inmate is a human being. He is beset with personal problems just as is any other person in the free community. He has a family; he has friends; he experiences remorse; he possesses a sense of shame; he still has some dignity as a person. It is the purpose of the worker, first, to outline what a prison regime means to the personality and to demonstrate how its regimentation can be faced and lived with. This in itself is a task of no small degree. His next task is to be helpful so far as the inmate's personal problems are concerned. Let us not, however, think of the social case

worker as an errand boy. Yet, there is a likelihood that he may legitimately be called upon to bridge the gap between the inmate and members of his family. Family loyalty is of paramount importance to the immured inmate. Recriminations must be mitigated and, if possible, eliminated. The third task of the worker is to assist the man and the administration to work out a parole plan. I wish to state here that no man should be released from prison except on parole and that parole should come as early as is humanly possible. Long sentences are absurd. The parole plan, of course, involves the re-establishment of meaningful roots in the community, such as family relationships, a dignified job, constructive avocations, and the like.

Many of the social workers I have found in prisons today—that is, those employed by the administration—are doing a fine piece of work. But they have a most difficult time. Some of them degenerate into “yes men” because they are harassed by the authoritarian aspects of the administration. Some of them, in fact, most of them, are insecure in their positions, since at the whim of a warden or some other official they can be relieved of their positions in the most capricious manner. That actually happened a few years ago in Pennsylvania. Word went out from the governor that retrenchment was necessary in all state-supported institutions. The warden of the Eastern Penitentiary merely abolished the social-work clinic. Wardens find it easy to eliminate professional workers but are loath to cut down on tear gas, tool-proof steel, the number of guards on the walls, and other gadgets used to restrain.

It is of the utmost important that there be in every prison a social-work clinic. To this office can come any inmate

beset with personal problems and be assured of a sympathetic hearing. In one institution I know, one of the social workers on the staff was present in the evenings at “yard out,” where he merely mingled with the men and answered their questions if they wished to contact him in such an informal atmosphere. I am convinced that such a service accomplished a great deal in building the morale of the men.

But aside from the institutional case-work service there should also be supplied to the inmate some similar service from outside the prison. Trained case workers paid by some community social agency should have the freedom to visit the inmate if he so desires it. Such a professional worker can be of special value to the man because he is not a part of the institution. He can co-operate with the worker within the prison and assist with parole planning. The relationship can be carried on after the man has been released, in which case the worker can establish rapport with the officially appointed parole officer.

Aside from trained social case workers a word should be said about what we in Philadelphia call lay prison visitors. Lay visiting began in the old Walnut Street Jail in 1787. An interesting incident is worthy of citation. In the Minutes of the second meeting of the Society we find the following:

A member informed the Society that although an order had been issued since from the supreme executive council [of the state] that Barrach Martin, a negro under sentence of death, but who had been pardoned, should be released from his irons, yet they have not been removed, he is therefore recommended to the care of the acting committee.<sup>7</sup>

It was reported at the next meeting that the unfortunate man's irons had not only

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Negley K. Teeters, *They Were in Prison* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1937), p. 4.

been removed but that he had been released from prison.

Lay visiting has continued down to the present in Pennsylvania, as well as in a few widely scattered states, but it has had a rough and uncertain history. We in this country have failed to catch the significance of this very important service. It has had a venerable and distinguished history. The name of Elizabeth Fry is well known to all of us, but she was preceded by many others who labored anonymously and who were literally unsung. We do know something of two very humble folk in England named Thomas Shillitoe, a Quaker, and Sarah Martin, a deeply religious peasant of Yarmouth.<sup>8</sup>

In speaking of lay visitors, I am not including the efforts of professional religionists such as the Salvation Army, members of the various church missions, etc. There is no doubt that the service rendered by these groups has meaning for some prisoners, but there are thousands of inmates who cannot be touched by religion of this type. Lay visitors may be merchants, schoolteachers, drug clerks, plumbers—in fact, almost anyone from any profession; mature, adult, sympathetic individuals who are concerned with the well-being of fellow-men who are denied the advantages of the free community. It follows, of course, that such a group coming to a prison needs guidance and regulation. The warden can set down rules which must be scrupulously followed. The guidance can come from a case-working agency in the community.

There is nothing idealistic about such a service. Over seven hundred lay visitors are certified in British prisons. Alex-

<sup>8</sup> See Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), p. 177; see also John Watson, *Meet the Prisoner* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), p. 36.

ander Paterson, one of the commissioners of the British prison system, feels that their service is indispensable to the operation of the system. Prior to the war Czechoslovakia had enrolled eight thousand private prison visitors in eighteen organizations. Here is what can be done to assist the prisoner: furnish him news from the outside, especially from his neighborhood and from his family; take an interest in the prisoner's work, hobbies, reading, wife, and children; lend him personal books; discuss his release procedures—in short, be his friend.

According to John Watson, secretary of the National Association of Prison Visitors of England, the lay visitor must possess "breadth of outlook, sympathy, and above all, a sense of humour. He should not be too young, nor too old. He must have a hard head—which is quite unrelated to a hard heart—must be devoid of all false sentiment or morbidity. Preferably he is a man who leads an active life outside the prison, and is in close touch with social and industrial conditions. Last, the visitor must be able to come regularly to the prison, if possible devoting at least one evening to the work each week."

He adds that flexibility and initiative on the part of the visitor are important; hence the fewer the rules for visiting, the better. As the prisoner wants news from the outside, it should be given him. Light topics, even frivolous, are justifiable. He adds this description of the ideal visitor and his visit:

Conversation on any topic is justified if it helps to lift the prisoner out of himself and enables his visitor to get to know him. I have little faith in the prison visitor with the long face and the pocket full of tracts. Prisons are gloomy enough without long-faced prison visitors, and I believe that Christianity needs to be something more live and vital than can be proffered second hand in a pamphlet. Only

cheerful people should be visitors, for there is dire need for brightness and laughter—especially laughter. In prison life there is little to laugh at.

Sooner or later the day will come when the average prisoner gives his visitor his confidence. Hitherto he has been sizing him up. Now he has decided that the intruder is not merely a pleasant fellow, but one who can be trusted.

Sometimes it happens unexpectedly and the situation, unless well handled, will become emotional; more often the prisoner comes to it gradually, first dropping an odd remark here and there about his private affairs, later filling in the gaps, and finally telling the whole story. The visitor, if he is wise, will listen patiently; he will neither interrupt nor express surprise and he will make generous allowance for artist's license. It will help if he can forget their respective positions—the one a "social worker" and the other a "criminal."

It follows that no inmate or visitor should be compelled to accept the other. Both should be granted the right to reject each other. The relationship should also be terminated at the request of either person. An inmate may have the benefit of a lay visitor upon application to the warden or social case-working unit. It is difficult to measure the good that can accrue from such a type of friendly visiting. But, in all relationships between visitors, whether they be trained case workers or laymen, the prisoner himself must retain the right to make his own choices. Unless an inmate has a part in the plans made for him in the prison, unless he may accept or reject them voluntarily, little effective treatment can result. In the last analysis it is his problem, his battle. Skilful guidance is the essence of treatment in the modern prison. Anything less will not and cannot be effective.

We still have a long way to go in order

to make the most effective use of the prison. Few institutions, for example, have really tried to develop even the incipient forms of democracy in prison life. It is just assumed that democracy cannot work in a prison. I am not referring to the trusty system nor even to so-called self-government. But a start can be made in delegating authority to the personnel, freed from the authoritarian strait jacket imposed on them by the warden. A disgruntled staff of guards can ruin the best of programs set down on paper by the warden. A sense of responsibility must be nurtured in both personnel and inmates alike.

The prison of the future will be a sort of way station, a sifting ground, a diagnostic depot where hopeful plans are developed for inmate treatment. The community and its assets will be mobilized for action, and, as soon as practicable, the inmate will be paroled to the free society but under strict and sympathetic supervision. Some men thus released may work in the prison during the day and spend their nights with their families; others may work in the community and return to the institution at night. Warden Lawes called such humane restraint "invisible stripes."

The prison of the future will be open to the public. Not as a zoo—as is the case in some places today where, for 25 cents, spectators may be given a sort of Cook's tour—but whereby responsible persons and organizations and agencies may tender their services to the prisoners. This may be brought about by means of a careful selection of responsible persons to act as lay visitors. In the last analysis, the community does have a stake in the prison.

<sup>9</sup> Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10.

## ENGLISH SOCIAL WELFARE HISTORY SELECT DOCUMENTS\*

### SOME CHARITABLE BEQUESTS IN EARLY ENGLISH WILLS (1284-1580) AND STATUTES (1414-1601) TO PROTECT CHARITABLE GIFTS

EDITH ABBOTT

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE origin and means of support of some of the oldest private charities in England are frequently found in the bequests in early wills. These are of interest in the history of social welfare; and two series of documents are given here to illustrate the private charity of an early period: first, some extracts from a series of early wills which contain provision for such charitable bequests; and, second, a series of extracts from the English statutes showing the early development of the policy of protecting these charitable endowments.

Public responsibility for the care of the destitute developed slowly in the latter half of the sixteenth century. And in the absence of public responsibility, private charitable gifts were important in making provision for those in need during the Middle Ages and for a later period long before the principle of public responsibility was written in the statutes and was slowly accepted by the local authorities.

There was great poverty, and men suffered from famine and pestilence. There were not only the lame, the halt, the blind, but the lepers and other outcasts, as well as the sick, the aged, and the children of the destitute. But a man expected to be treated only as were the members of his class—in the familiar words—according to that state of life in which it had pleased God to call

him. When the state made no provision for the poor, almsgiving was necessary, but severe laws were passed to prevent “wandering” and begging. Private charity was the way of life, and much of this was religious charity.<sup>2</sup> There was almsgiving by the benevolent, by the church institutions, by the guilds; and private charity also provided almshouses, lazar houses, and hospitals and also work relief and schools for the poor.

There were dole charities of long standing. According to Miss Leonard, almsgiving and hospitality were “inculcated as religious duties of considerable importance” in Anglo-Saxon times. There is the story of King Oswald:

He was about to dine sumptuously from a silver dish of dainties one Easter day, when the servant who distributed relief to the poor came before him, and told him that there were many needy persons outside the gate, who were begging some alms of the king. The king left the dish untasted and ordered the contents to be carried to the beggars.<sup>3</sup>

Stow, in the *Survey of London* at the close of the sixteenth century, described the personal

\* See William J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* (London, 1894), Vol. I, Part II, chap. v. This chapter on the “Care of the Poor” still remains what might be called a classic in this field. See also B. Kirkman Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy* (London, 1905), chap. i, pp. 9-35, and F. R. Salter, *Some Early Tracts on English Poor Relief* (London, 1926), especially Introduction, pp. xv-xx and No. I, pp. 1-4, and No. VI, pp. 120-26.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (1900), p. 2. Miss Leonard notes that King Alfred is said to have “bestowed alms and largesses on both natives and foreigners of all countries” (p. 3).

\* In earlier numbers the *Review* published various “Source Materials” relating to the history of social welfare, both in England and in America. A new series of such material is planned under the title “Social Welfare History: Select Documents.”



almsgiving of an earlier day. For example, he noted that in 1236, on a holy day, the king's treasurer was to feed six thousand poor people; and in the same reign it was commanded that in the great hall at Windsor, "at a good fire," should be fed "all the poor and needy children that could be found, and the king's children being weighed and measured, their weight and measure to be distributed for their good estates." And a great prelate, the Bishop of Norwich, "about the year 1245, in a time of great dearth, sold all his plate, and distributed it to the poor every pennyworth." And the Archbishop of Canterbury "about the year 1293, besides the daily fragments, gave every Friday and Sunday, unto every beggar that came to his gate, a loaf of bread sufficient for that day, and there more usually, every such alms day, in time of dearth, to the number of five thousand, and otherwise four thousand, at the least; more, he used every great festival day to give one hundred and fifty pence to so many poor people, to send daily meat, bread and drink, to such as by age or sickness were not able to fetch his alms, and to send meat, money, and apparel to such as he thought needed it." And the Bishop of Durham "did bestow for the relief of the poor eight quarters of wheat made into bread, besides his alms dish, fragments of his house, and the great sums of money given to the poor when he journeyed."<sup>4</sup>

The hospital of this period was not always a place for the sick. A hospital was a house where hospitality was extended to different groups of needy persons, and these early charitable institutions were places of refuge for the friendless and helpless.<sup>5</sup> Some of the greatest of the endowed hospitals

were in the hands of the early church and were lost at the time of the disestablishment of the religious houses in 1536 and 1539. But some of these were later restored. Among the oldest and best known are two hospitals that were suppressed<sup>6</sup> by Henry VIII in the

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., R. M. Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), and John Morrison Hobson, *Some Early and Later Houses of Pity* (London, 1926).

<sup>5</sup> The effect of the suppression of the religious houses is described in various contemporary documents, e.g., *Complaint of Roderyck Mors* (about 1542), by Henry Brinklow, in "Early English Text Society: Extra Series," No. XXII (London, 1874). The editor points out in the introductory note (p. vii) that "there is not much to be wondered at in the fact of the great bulk of the people looking back with longing to the times that had passed away; nor is there anything to cause surprise in the bitter disappointment of the advocates of the new faith. The people had exchanged for them the rude plenty of monastic times for the starvation which of necessity followed the expulsion of the small farmers from their holdings. Those who retained their farms found, instead of the certainty of tenure and low rents of Abbey lands, a merciless demand to know by what right, or by what lease, the farms were held, and their rents increased to such an extent that very few could pay them; and then they were left to choose between a vagabond's life and a felon's death, if they threw up their lands, and want and oppression if they retained them. . . . Following the suppression of the religious houses . . . they saw with amazement that the Abbey lands fell to the lot of the rich ones among the Royal favourites while the poor, who had been content to receive their share of the Church's wealth at the Convent gates, were left to die untended and often unpitied." And from the *Complaint* the following: "The monks were bound to deal alms to the poor and to keep hospitality. . . . And as touching the alms that they dealt and the hospitality that they kept, every man knoweth that many thousands were well relieved of them. . . . But now that all the abbeyes, with their lands, goods, and impropriated personages, be in temporal men's hands, I do not hear tell that one halfpenny worth of alms or any other profit cometh unto the people of these parishes."

And see also *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* (1546) ("Early English Text Society: Extra Series," No. XIII). The editor notes that "the miserable poverty of the people, who expected great things from the expulsion of the monks, is clearly expressed. Under the old order of things there was some relief, but under the new, instead of the monk there was the 'sturdy extortioner.' The people could get no farm, not even a cottage. Rents were raised,

<sup>6</sup> *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster: Containing the Original, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of Those Cities. Written at First in the Year 1598. By John Stow, Citizen and Native of London. Since Reprinted and Augmented by the Author; and by John Strype* (London, 1720), Book I, pp. 245-46, Appendix, chap. iv. This account of charitable gifts and, especially, endowments is of interest because it dealt with the earlier period, although it was written and published at the close of the sixteenth century.

disestablishment but were later restored as "royal hospitals" and given to the citizens of London. One of these was the great Hospital of St. Bartholomew,<sup>7</sup> founded between 1123 and 1133, used for "poor diseased persons till they got well, for women with child until delivered and for the maintenance of the children born there until the age of seven if their mothers died in the hospital." Another well-known hospital that was suppressed and then restored was St. Mary of Bethlehem,<sup>8</sup> founded in 1247, used for the care of "distracted persons," and referred to by the people as St. Mary "Bedlem," from which

abbey lands bought up, and the old leases declared to be void."

The *Supplication* points out that at one time the people had "hospitals, and almshouses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their number great, but now much greater. And no marvel, for there is . . . crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners. These men cease not to oppress us, your Highness poor commons, in such sort that many thousands of us, which here before lived honestly upon our sore labor and travail, bringing up our children in the exercise of honest labor, are now constrained some to beg, some to borrow, and some to rob and steal, to get food for us and our poor wives and children. . . . For such of us as have no possessions . . . can now get no farm, tenement, or cottage, at these men's hands, without we pay unto them more than we are able to make. Yea, this was tolerable, so long as, after this extreme exaction, we were not for the residue of our years oppressed with much greater rents than hath of ancient time been paid for the same grounds. . . . But now these extortioners . . . buy at your Highness hand such abbey lands as you appoint to be sold. And when they stand once full seized therein, they make us, your poor commons, so in doubt of their threatenings that we dare do none other but bring into their courts our copies taken of the covenants of the late dissolved monasteries, and confirmed by your High Court of Parliament, they make us believe that, by virtue of your Highness sale, all our former writings are void and of no effect. And that if we will not take new leases of them, we must then forthwith avoid the grounds, as having therein no interest."

<sup>7</sup> See Sir Norman Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London, 1918), and also *St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Peace and War* (Cambridge: University Press, 1915).

<sup>8</sup> See Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, *The Story of Bethlehem Hospital from Its Foundation in 1247* (London, 1914).

our word "bedlam" has come. The "Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of London" petitioned Henry VIII in 1538 for the restoration of these two hospitals as well as St. Thomas,<sup>9</sup> which had been founded in 1213 and was at first called the "Almery" or "house of alms for converts and poor Children."

The "Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of London to King Henry the Eighth"<sup>10</sup> in 1538 asks hospital care "for the aid and comfort of the poor sick blind aged and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves nor having any place certain where they may be lodged cherished and refreshed till they be cured and holpen of their diseases and sickness."

The petition "informs" the king that "there be near and within the city of London three hospitals or spitals commonly called Saint Mary Spital, Saint Bartholomew Spital, and Saint Thomas Spital, and one abbey called the New Abbey at Tower hill, founded of good devotion by ancient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief comfort and aid of the poor and indigent people not being able to help themselves."

The king was asked to make these hospitals public institutions "that the Mayor and his brethern of your city of London . . . shall and may from henceforth have the order rule and disposition and governance of all the said hospitals and abbey, with the rents and revenues appertaining to the same, for the only relief of the poor sick and needy persons."

The petition adds that "a greater number of poor needy sick and indigent persons shall be refreshed maintained comforted found healed and cured of their infirmities . . . by physicians surgeons and apothecaries which shall have stipend salary and wages only to attend for that intent and purpose, so that all impotent persons not

<sup>9</sup> F. G. Parsons, *The History of St. Thomas's Hospital* (3 vols.; London, 1932-36).

<sup>10</sup> *Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London* (reprinted; London, 1863), Appendix, pp. 1-2.

able to labor shall be relieved by reason of the said hospitals and abbey, and all sturdy beggars not willing to labor shall be punished, so that . . . few or no persons shall be abroad to beg or ask alms."

A later letter explains with regard to St. Bartholomew that "henceforth there be comfort to the prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and sepulture to the dead administered there, and that other works of piety be performed there."<sup>11</sup>

The petition was granted, "considering the miserable estate of the poor aged sick low and impotent people, as well men and women, lying and going about begging in the common streets of the said city of London and the suburbs of the same, . . . being infected with divers great and horrible sicknesses and diseases." The citizens of London were to make provision for the hospital to "find perpetually [for] the said 100 poor folks, and [for] the said matron and twelve women under her, sufficient meat drink bedding clothing wood coal and all other things meet convenient and necessary for them."

There was to be found "one person sufficiently learned in the science of physic, and one other person having sufficient knowledge in surgery, to be continually attendant upon the sick and sore people at the said hospital." And provision was to be made "to minister to them from time to time such things as shall be needful and necessary for their sicknesses and diseases; and . . . give and pay to the same physician yearly 20£, and to the same surgeon yearly 20£; and that the said Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens . . . at their proper costs and charges, from time to time shall buy and provide all manner pothecary ware and other things meet necessary and convenient for the making of salves and all other things touching physic or surgery, for the help or

<sup>11</sup> From "Translation of Letters Patent Containing the Grant and Establishment of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; 23 June, 1544," Rot. Pat. 36 Henry VIII, pars 2, mem. 41. Reprinted in *ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 4-5.

healing of the said poor sick and impotent people."

The Hospital of St. Bartholomew was restored to the people in 1544, and Bethlehem Hospital in 1546. St. Thomas was restored by King Edward VI in 1552 for "poor impotent lame and diseased people"; and in the same year the king also responded to the citizens' appeal by granting the former Royal Palace of Bridewell,<sup>12</sup> "toward the relief, help, and succour of the poor and shall be kept in the said manor house or Palace of Bridewell." Bridewell was to provide "good and profitable occupations" and was to "train and set on work . . . such of the said poor . . . as shall have power and strength and be meet to labour in some kind of occupation as the same shall be most apt for." At the same time a fifth royal hospital was granted—Christ's Hospital,<sup>13</sup> founded upon "the site of the Grey Friars" for "poor fatherless children."

Although not called public hospitals, these five royal hospitals had become, in effect, endowed public institutions, with substantial support out of the people's funds, for the Common Council of London formally took action that "the citizens of London" would be "bounden yearly for ever"<sup>14</sup> to give a sum which was substantially equivalent to the income from the endowments of the hospital (1546). There were, of course, other hospitals in London, and there

<sup>12</sup> The appeal made by Bishop Ridley to Cecil, asking for the "wide, large, empty house of the Kings Majesty, called Bridewell" for the people "without lodging in the streets of London . . . hungry naked and cold," is reprinted in R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, II, 312; cf. Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital: Palace, Prison, Schools from the Earliest Times to the End of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London, 1923), and A. J. Copeland, *Bridewell Royal Hospital: Past and Present* (London, 1888).

<sup>13</sup> See Edmund Charles Blunden, *Christ's Hospital: A Retrospect* (London, 1923); Ernest Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1901); William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1834); J. I. Wilson, *A Brief History of Christ's Hospital from Its Foundation by King Edward the Sixth* (London, 1838).

<sup>14</sup> *Memoranda, etc., Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, Appendix, p. 8.

were also hospitals in other large towns of the period. The hospitals listed in Stow's *Survey of London* (Appendix, chap. iv) were as follows:

The hospitals in this city and suburbs thereof, that have been of old time, and now presently are . . . :

The Hospital of St. Mary, in the parish of Barking, that was provided for poor priests, and others, men and women, in the city of London, that were fallen into frenzy, or loss of their memory, until such time as they should recover; since suppressed, and given to the Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower.

St. Anthony's, an hospital of thirteen poor men, and a college, with a free-school, for poor men's children, founded by citizens of London, lately by John Tate, first a brewer and then a mercer, in the ward of Broad Street, suppressed in the reign of Edward the Sixth, the School in some sort remaining, but sore decayed. . . .

St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, an hospital of great receipt and relief for the poor; and suppressed by Henry the Eighth; and again by him given to the city; and is endowed by the citizens' benevolence.

St. Giles's in the Fields, was an hospital for leprous people out of the city of London, and shire of Middlesex, founded by Matilde the Queen, wife to Henry the First; and suppressed by King Henry the Eighth.

St. John of Jerusalem, by West Smithfield, an hospital of the Knights of the Rhodes, for maintenance of soldiers against the Turks and infidels, was suppressed by King Henry the Eighth.

St. James in the Field was an hospital for leprous virgins of the city of London, founded by citizens for that purpose, suppressed by King Henry the Eighth.

St. John at Savoy, an hospital for relief of one hundred poor people, founded by King Henry the Seventh, suppressed by King Edward the Sixth; again new founded, endowed, and furnished by Queen Mary, and so remaineth.

St. Katherine by the Tower of London, an hospital with a master, brethren, and sisters, and almswomen, founded by Matilde, wife to King Stephen, not suppressed, but in force as afore.

St. Mary within Cripplegate, an hospital founded by William Elsing, for an hundred blind people of the city; suppressed by King Henry the Eighth.

St. Mary Bethelam without Bishopsgate, was an hospital founded by Simon Fitz-Mary, a citizen of London, to have been a priory; and remaineth for lunatick people; having been suppressed and given to Christ's Hospital.

St. Mary without Bishopsgate was an hospital and priory, called St. Mary Spittle; founded by a citizen of London, for relief of the poor, with provision of 180 beds there for the poor. It was suppressed in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

St. Mary Rounceval by Charing Cross was an hospital suppressed, with the priories aliens, in the reign of King Henry the Fifth. Then it was made a brotherhood in the 15th of Edward the Fourth; and again suppressed by King Edward the Sixth.

St. Thomas of Acres, or Acon, in Cheap was an hospital for a master and brethren (in the record called Militia). It was surrendered and sold to the Mercers.

St. Thomas in Southwark, being an hospital of great receipt for the poor, was suppressed; but again newly founded, and endowed by the benevolence and charity of the citizens of London.

An hospital there was without Aldersgate, a cell to the house of Clugny suppressed by King Henry the Fifth.

A third hospital there was in Oldborne, being also a cell to the said house of Clugny, suppressed by King Henry the Fifth.

The Hospital (or Almshouse called God's house) for thirteen poor men, with a college called Whittington College, founded by Richard Whittington, Mercer; and suppressed; but the poor remain and are paid their allowance by the mercers.

Christ's Hospital in Newgate Market of a new Foundation, in the Grey Friars Church, by King Henry the Eighth. Poor fatherless children be there brought up and nourished at the charges of the citizens.

Bridewell, now an hospital (or House of Correction) founded by King Edward the Sixth, to be a Workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the city. Wherein a great number of vagrant persons be now set at work, and relieved at the charge of the citizens. Of all these hospitals, being twenty in number, you may read before; as also of good and charitable provisions made for the poor by sundry well disposed citizens.

Some of the early English wills of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries are published here to illustrate the



favorite charities of the period. Many "dole charities" will be found in these wills. The distribution of small gifts of money, fuel, and clothing "to the poor lepers," to "any poor lame or poor blind . . . that they have clothes to protect them from cold," to "poor folk lying bedrid," to "every poor man of the parish." These doles are said to have stimulated begging, but there were so many long-time causes of destitution, like the enclosure movement, that it is hard to believe the small attempts to relieve widespread poverty could be said to be a major cause of its existence. However, the Webbs say that "the relief of destitution afforded by the alms of God-fearing Christians had the unfortunate characteristic that it had no concern for the effect of these alms, either on the individual poverty-stricken person or on the class to which he belonged."<sup>15</sup> And the Webbs also point out that the time-honored injunction, "Give to everyone that asketh of thee," was quite simply interpreted to mean that alms were to be given indiscriminately to those in need. Those who gave were "not to judge" as to who might be "deserving" or "undeserving." For it was said that "by being fastidious and setting thyself to try who are fit for thy benevolence, and who not, it is possible that thou mayest neglect some who are the friends of God."<sup>16</sup>

Sir Richard Whittington (d. 1423), a "model merchant of the Middle Ages,"<sup>17</sup> and lord mayor of London (in 1397-98, 1406-7, and 1419-20), has been described as "a good type of the mediaeval city magnate." He is also important as an early philanthropist.<sup>18</sup> In his will most of his prop-

erty was left to his executors "to be laid out in purposes of charity, leaving the disposal of it to their good judgment." He is said to have explained at the time of his death that he wished to have "those works which had been commenced under his own superintendence in his life time" completed. Following the custom of the time, there was to be the gift of a penny for "every man, woman, and child on the day of his funeral."<sup>19</sup> We are told that, "always mindful of the poor," there was "a thought of them continued to the last."

The model merchant was said to have been "honored by the rich and beloved by the poor." His charities were varied, including gifts to the church, almshouses, a school, support for "poor scholars," gifts to hospitals, and "many other charitable uses." "He built many charity houses, likewise a church in Vintry-Ward, dedicated to St. Michael, adding a college to it, founded to St. Mary, with a yearly allowance for poor scholars, near which he erected a hospital called God's House, and well endowed it. . . . He built Newgate as a place for criminals. He gave largely to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and to many other charitable uses." An old "Song to Sir Richard Whittington" recites his good deeds:

Prisoners cherished were, Widows Comfort found  
Good Deeds far and near by him were done.  
Whittington's College is one of his Charities,  
Newgate he built for prisoners to lie in.  
Many more Deeds were done by Whittington,

Richard Whittington was not a man to leave things to be done after his death, any more than he could avoid; he wished to see the fruits of his own liberality, and therefore having probably done what he thought requisite for his relatives during his life time, there would be no occasion to remember them in his will, which is short and simple."

<sup>19</sup> The property left to his executors was to be "laid out in purposes of charity, . . . after having explained on his death-bed the principal objects on which he desired it to be bestowed—chiefly in completing those works which had been commenced under his own superintendence, in his life time."

The gift of a penny is said to be "nearly equal to a shilling in our day" (*ibid.*).

<sup>15</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government: English Poor Law History*, Part I, *The Old Poor Law* (London, 1927), p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5, and footnote quoting *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, by J. G. W. Uhlhorn.

<sup>17</sup> See the little volume with this title by Rev. Samuel Lysons (London, 1860), and see also the earlier volume *The History of Sir Richard Whittington, Thrice Lord Mayor of London* (London: Printed for the Travelling Stationers, ca. 1700).

<sup>18</sup> Lysons, in his account of the model merchant, points out (*op. cit.*, p. 75) that "it is evident that



Which Joy and Comfort bring to those that look on.

Somerset, thou hast bred the Flower of Charity, Altho' he's dead and gone yet he lives lastingly. Call him back no more to live so in London, These Bells that call'd him back, "Turn again Whittington."

In examining the early wills, it will be noted that services and benefits which were once provided as private charity are now supported by the taxpayer. For example, in several of these wills will be found gifts to feed the "poor prisoners" in such prisons as Newgate, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and others; for prisoners were expected to pay for their lodging and food, and many unfortunate men and women suffered because they were unable to pay. There are also gifts for repairing the bridges and keeping up the highways; there are gifts for elementary schools; and there are charities for persons afflicted with contagious disease like leprosy and gifts to persons in the "lazar houses." In the sixteenth century there were gifts for work relief—for "working and abiding houses" for the poor and for the poor who needed work. Many bequests are for the hospitals and almshouses. Early wills not only indicate the hope of the pious and generous that some share of their property might go in perpetuity to the poor, the sick, and the handicapped, and others in need, but show the customary method of meeting these needs by private charity.

There was some concern about safeguarding the large funds left for the care of the poor, and legislation providing for the protection of endowments was a means of encouraging private charity. These endowments, sometimes referred to as "the patrimony of the poor," were frequently left to the church and the religious orders, but conflict between the state and the church as to the use of these endowments began at a very early period. Other questions concerning the protection of charitable funds gradually developed. Were the endowments always used for the purposes the donor had in mind? If not, what could be done about it? Before the fourteenth century came to an end, the state

began to attempt to exercise some control through legislation.

In 1391 a statute<sup>20</sup> provided that the revenues of the church, in so far as these revenues were part of the patrimony of the poor and were so designated, might to some extent be regulated in the interest of the poor.<sup>21</sup> This early fourteenth-century statute provided that when the revenues of a church living were "appropriated by a monastery a portion of the revenue must be assigned to the poor so that they would not lose the alms formerly distributed."

Parts of another statute to protect endowment of hospitals (1414) are reprinted here (No. 11). Miss Clay<sup>22</sup> calls this a "Statute for the Reformation of Hospitals." The hospitals to which such large gifts had been made to "sustain impotent men and women, lazars, men out of their wits and poor women with child, and to nourish, relieve, and refresh other poor people" were said to be "for the most part decayed, and the goods and profits of the same, by divers persons as well spiritual as temporal, withdrawn and spent in other use, whereby many men and women have died in great misery for default of aid, living and succour." The act provides

<sup>20</sup> 15 Rich. II, c. 6, "Because divers damages and hindrances oftentimes have happened, and daily do happen to the parishioners of divers places, by the appropriation of benefices of the same places; it is agreed and assented that in every licence from henceforth to be made in the Chancery, of the appropriations of such churches, a convenient sum of money to be paid and distributed yearly of the fruits and profits of the same churches, by those that shall have the said churches in proper use, and by their successors, to the poor parishioners of the said churches, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever; and also that the vicar be well and sufficiently endowed."

<sup>21</sup> Miss Leonard notes that even from the beginning of the thirteenth century the state and the towns showed activity in wishing to control some of the charitable endowments, so many of which were in the hands of the church (*op. cit.*, p. 3). There were signs that men were no longer leaving "charitable endowments entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics. A growing desire was felt that Parliament and Town Governments should share in the administration of some of the funds for the relief of the poor" (*ibid.*, p. 6).

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

for a method of inquiry into the foundation of the charity and "its governance."

Also given here (No. 12) is the Act of 1572 "for the assurance of gifts . . . made for the relief of the poor in hospitals," a statute clearly intended to make the gifts to the hospitals "good and available in law" according to the donor's true meaning."

The founding by private charity of "hospitals or abiding houses for the poor" was encouraged by the Act of 1597 (No. 13).

Finally, there are also reprinted (No. 14) certain parts of the great "Statute of Charitable Uses," which provided for inquiries into breaches of trust.<sup>23</sup> This important statute was first enacted in 1597 and then, like the so-called "great poor law," was re-enacted with some changes in 1601. The title of the act—"An Act To Redress the Misemployment of Lands, Goods, and Stocks of Money Heretofore Given to Charitable Uses"—indicates the belief that endowments were not infrequently "misemployed." The statement in the act regarding the "abuses, breaches of trusts, negligence, misemployment, no employing, concealing, defrauding, misconverting, or misgovernment" shows that the endowments needed greater safeguards than they had had.<sup>24</sup>

In Part I of the following documents will

<sup>23</sup> Miss Leonard thinks that this act indicated that "Parliament desired to maintain and strengthen the older voluntary system of charity in order that it might work concurrently with the newer organization now growing up" (*op. cit.*, p. 137).

<sup>24</sup> Miss Leonard says: "There were however several drawbacks to the hospitals as institutions for the relief of the poor. There was little security that the funds were well administered or that the appointments were impartially made. The king himself seems to have tried to exercise undue influence even in the case of St. Thomas's Hospital: in 1528 he pressed Wolsey to give the Mastership to his chaplain, who, he said, was not learned enough for the king. There were however worse abuses than this, and even as early as the time of Henry V. it was necessary to pass a statute to prevent the maladministration of hospital funds. Moreover at best the hospitals were only isolated centres of charity; they were not numerous enough to deal with poverty as a whole, and they were not connected with each other. The officials of each hospital acted on their own responsibility and afforded much

be found extracts from fourteen English wills having charitable bequests in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and Holinshed's interesting account of a will of 1580. In reading these wills, it is important to remember that money was scarce and prices in money were very low, and "the penny was the people's coin." In Part II are extracts from various statutes from 1414 to 1601 for the protection of charities.

## I. OLD ENGLISH WILLS HAVING CHARITABLE BEQUESTS

### 1. THE WILL OF JOHN BONDE, OF NORWICH 1248<sup>25</sup>

. . . . I John Bonde of Norwich . . . leave . . . for bread and herrings to be distributed to, the poor, 4 marks; . . . to the bridge of Fifbrigge, 6d.; . . . Moreover I give and leave all my capital messuage which I dwell in with the appurtenances in the said parish of St. Peter in free and perpetual alms for the welfare of my soul to the hospital of the Lord Bishop of Norwich, founded in honor of St. Giles, to have and to hold; saving to the said Mabilia my wife, residence in the said messuage with the appurtenances for her life only, by rendering therefrom to the said hospital 2s. every year so long as she shall live. . . . I leave also to the said hospital of St. Giles after the death of the same Mabilia the whole of the said rent with all its appurtenances fully to be held and to be received from the same messuages in free and perpetual alms. Moreover I leave to the Hospital of St. Mary of the Fields a rent of 6d. due to me from the messuage late Chabbard the Jew's which messuage William de Hapesburc now holds. . . . For the performance of this testament, however, and for the payment of the debts I leave my salt, and my money, and my other goods not devised above, and the debts which are owing to me. . . .

or little relief to the poor of their immediate neighbourhood, but were almost as powerless as a private individual to check the general evil" (*ibid.*, pp. 19-20).

<sup>25</sup> Translation published in *Records of the City of Norwich*, compiled and edited by William Hudson and John Cottingham Tingey (Norwich: Published by Authority of the Corporation of the City of Norwich, 1906-10), II, 358-59.

## 2. THE WILL OF WILLIAM DE DUNWICH OF NORWICH (1272)<sup>26</sup>

.... I William de Donewic, citizen of Norwich, make my testament in this manner. First, .... my body to be buried in the Hospital of St. Giles of Norwich before the altar of St. Catherine .... I leave to the said hospital .... the messuage of Conesford ...., the messuage which I purchased of Nicholas, .... my messuage in the parish of St. Mary Combust and certain annual rents. .... I leave also to the same Hospital 35 marks and 8s. which the Rector of the church of Bothone owes me, and £16 and 12s. to be paid to the same by the hands of my executors for supporting five poor infirm persons in all their necessities for my soul and Catherine's my wife forever. Which poor persons shall lie in the said hospital in five beds so that when anyone of them shall have been restored to health or entered upon the way of all flesh, another infirm person shall immediately be substituted in his place and shall be suitably supported as is aforesaid. Also I leave to the same hospital all the annual rents concerning which mention is before made in two other charters. .... Also I leave for my funeral and for good deeds to be done to the poor on the day of my burial, on the seventh day and on the thirtieth day, £30. .... Also I leave to every lepers' house round the town of Norwich, 6d.: .... also for buying shoes to the use of the poor, 40s.: for buying straw mats to the use of the poor, half a mark: for buying turves for the use of the poor, 10s.; for buying cloth to the use of the poor, 60s. .... To the repair of the bridge of Coslanye, 2s., of the bridge of Fibrigge, 2s., of the bridge of Neubrigge, 2s., of the bridge of St. Martin, 2s., to the repair of the bridge of Trows, 2s., of the bridge of Herteford, 2s., of the bridge of Cringleford, 2s., of the bridge of Earlam, 2s. ....

## 3. THE WILL OF JOHN PYNCEON, CITIZEN AND JEWELER OF LONDON, 1392<sup>27</sup>

[Gives his lands in the county of Essex to be sold, and the money disposed of as follows:] I will that the money be distributed especially to the poor men who had been men before of

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360-62.

<sup>27</sup> From the translation in *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, A.D. 1387-1439; with a Priest's of 1454*, edited, from the Original Registers in Somerset House, by Frederick J. Furnivall ("Early English Text Society: Original Series," Vol. LXXXVIII), p. 3.

good behavior, one man 20s. and one 2 marks, and some 40s., according to what their condition had been before, and that they be of the same parish and of Peter's and Cristopher's, or of another next thereby. And where we may know any poor lame or poor blind in any place in the town, that they have clothes to protect them from cold, and sheets to them that have need. And to the prisoners of Newgate, an allowance by the week during one year; and to the poor lepers an allowance a week during one year; and that the house be sold and the alms given away in the worst year. And where men may see any poor man of religion, monk, canon, or friar, that they have of my goods, and each man 6s. 8d. who had been a priest.

## 4. THE WILL OF THOMAS BROKE, LAND- OWNER, OF HOLDITCH, THORNECOMBE, DEVONSHIRE, 1417<sup>28</sup>

.... I wretched sinner, Thomas Broke, in good mind .... make my testament. .... No feast nor ceremony be held, but 3 masses at my burial, save 300 poor men shall have meat and drink enough and every man and woman of them 3d. and every child of 300 children, 1d. if there be so many children, and 13 poor men clothed in russet lined with white and every one of them to have 8d. And I bequeath to my poor tenants of Holditch, Hotham, Chard, Cottleigh, and Wicroft, that have given to me capons, reapings, and plowings, though they be not my tenants, I will that my executors do their pleasure by good discretion to the value of £20 among them and if any other man or woman be, that can show them that I have oppressed him or do wrong to him or eat with my beasts his corn or his grass and not amend it to him; to amend such trespass, I bequeath £10 and I bequeath to all my poorest tenants, where that they be, except them that I have named in this will to-for, £100 in money and I bequeath to poor men blind and lame £100 and to some true man, by good discretion to cause to be divided the money aforesaid. And especially if I have done wrong to any of my tenants or mistake their good, I will that it be restored to them. ....

## 5. THE WILL OF JOHN CHELMYSWYK, ESQ., OF SHROPSHIRE, 1418<sup>29</sup>

.... I, John Chelmswyk, squire of Shropshire, .... make .... my last will. ... Item, I bequeath to the mending of the feeble and foul

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-35.

ways beside Portman's Cross fast by Bridgenorth, 40s. . . . Item I bequeath to the prisoners of Ludgate in London, to pray for my soul . . . ., 20s. Item I bequeath on the same condition to the prisoners of Newgate in London, 40s. Item I bequeath on the same condition to the prisoners of the Marshalsea, 20s. Item I bequeath to the poor hospitals, that is to say, Saint Mary spital without Bishopsgate, Bedlem, Saint Thomas in Southwerk, Saint Anthony's Elsing-spital, Saint Bartilmewes in Smythfeld in London, Saint Giles beside Holbourne, that is to say, to every hospital to distribute among poor folk there, 20s. to pray for my soul and the souls aforesaid. . . . Item I bequeath another £7 to give to poor men . . . for to be distributed in Bridgenorth after the discretion of my executors, for to pray for my soul and for the souls aforesaid. . . .

6. THE WILL OF JOHN TOKER, VINTNER OF LONDON, OWNER OF "THE MERMAID" IN BREAD STREET, CHEAPSIDE, 1428<sup>30</sup>

. . . . I, John Toker, citizen and Vintner of London, . . . I bequeath to be distributed among poor folk dwelling in the foresaid parish of Saint Mildred, for to pray for my soul, 40s. Also I bequeath to be distributed among prisoners in the prisons of Ludgate, Marshalsea, Kingsbench, and the Counters in London, that is to say, in each of the said prisons, the prisoners to pray for my soul, 20s.; and among the prisoners in the Fleet, and the Clerks convict at Westminster, that is to say, in each of those two prisons, to pray for my soul, 10s. Also I bequeath to be distributed among poor folk lying sick in the spital of our lady without Bishopsgate, our lady of Bedlem, our lady of Elsing-spital, of Saint Bartilmewes in Smythfeld, and Saint Thomas in Southwerk, in every spital to pray for my soul, 6s. 8d. . . . Also I bequeath to Henry Thomason, my apprentice, £6. 12s. 4d. and I also forgo and release to the said Henry all his terms to me coming of his apprenticeship. . . . Also I will that my dress and clothing to my body belonging, anon after my death be sold, and the money thereof coming and taken, I will that it be divided and parted among poor folk lying bedrid, and in other works of charity most pleasing to God and to the health of my soul. Also I give and bequeath to the marriage of honest and poor maidens, to be distributed among them after the will and discretion of my executors, £14. 6s. 8d. . . .

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

7. THE WILL OF RICHARD BOKELAND, ESQ., OF ALL-HALLOWES THE GREATER, THAMES STREET, LONDON, 1436<sup>31</sup>

. . . . I, Richard Bokeland, Squire, . . . make my testament in manner as followeth. . . . I give unto the college of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire 20£, to be distributed, 20s. thereof yearly . . . and if there is left anything of the said 20s., to be given to every poor man of that parish 2d. and all those poor men to be at the Dirge and mass. . . . Item I give to every prisoner being in Ludgate and Newgate, 4d. Item to the Abbot's prison of Westminster 20s. Item to the prisoners of the Fleet, 20s. Item to the prisoners of the Marshalsea, 20s. Item to the prisoners of the Kingsbench, 20s. Item to the sick being in the spital houses of Saint Thomas, Saint Mary, and Saint Bartilmew of London, 3£. Item to the lazar houses next about London, 3£. . . .

8. THE WILL OF NICHOLAS CHARLETON CITIZEN AND SKINNER OF LONDON 1439<sup>32</sup>

. . . . I, Nicholas Charleton, citizen and skinner of London, . . . write and make . . . my last will. . . . And I bequeath a thousand hapenny loaves to be given to poor men by my executors within twelve months after my death, that is to say, to every poor man that cometh, a loaf. Also I bequeath to the brotherhood of my craft of Corpus Christi, to the common box thereof, 6s. 8d. and to the common box of the brotherhood of our lady in my craft, 6d. 8d. Also I bequeath to every prisoner in the prison of Ludgate, and each of the two Counters of London, a loaf of a pound, to be given away when corn is of reasonable price within a year after my death. . . . Also I bequeath to each of my apprentices dwelling and studying with me in manner of apprentice at time of my dying 20s. . . . Also I bequeath to the brotherhood of Saint Nicholas founded by parish clerks in London, 3s. 4d. Also to the brotherhood of Saint John of the Craft of Tailors of London, 3s. 4d.

9. WILL OF JOHN CARPENTER, TOWN CLERK OF LONDON, 1441<sup>33</sup>

In the name of God, Amen. I John Carpenter junior, citizen of London, cogitating with ear-

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-15.

<sup>33</sup> From the Registry of the Commissary Court of London, translated in *Memoir of the Life and*



nest meditation how brief are the days of man, . . . so to dispose of my frail and transitory goods . . . I do now make . . . this my last will and testament. . . . I will that my furred gowns and other sumptuous vestments, which, God forgive me, I have many times abused in superfluous and useless observances, may be sold, and with their price be purchased, and given out to poor devout persons having need thereof, competent clothing. . . . I bequeath ten marks to be disposed of and distributed whilst I am lying at the point of death, amongst my poorer neighbours in the parish of St. Peter and in the next parishes; and twenty marks afterwards by turns, within the next year, at the good discretion of my executors. . . . I bequeath to every poor lay brother and sister of the hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate; and also to every poor sister in the hospitals of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Katherine near the Tower, and St. Thomas in Southwark, twelve pence. Also I give and bequeath forty shillings, sterling to be disposed of, at the discretion of my executors, amongst the poor lepers at Holborn, Locks, and Hackney, and the poor madmen at Bethlehem. Also I bequeath one hundred shillings to be disposed of by turns in food or money, according to the discretion of my executors, amongst the poor prisoners of Newgate, Ludgate, the Fleet, Marshalsea, and King's Bench, and also in the prison of Convicts at Westminster. . . . And the residue of all my goods and chattels not bequeathed in my present will, after payment of my debts if any there is, I give and bequeath to my executors . . . to dispose of them in works of piety and mercy, as they may think most pleasing to God and profitable to the salvation of my soul. . . .

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—This will does not provide for the disposition of John Carpenter's lands and tenements, which, according to "a common practice in his time," were the subject of a separate will, giving, among other bequests, "tenements to the citye for the finding and bringing up of foure poore men's children with meate, drinke, apparell, learning at the schooles in the universities,

&c., until they be preferred, and then others in their places for ever."<sup>34</sup>

A record of 1633 in the earliest book of accounts of the corporation in the possession of the Chamberlain shows payments under the John Carpenter will for that year as follows:

Paid to this accomptant for over-seeing foure poor children being found at schoole and learning, by the bequest of the said Mr. John Carpenter, due for this year, 6s. 8d. and to the Comptroller of the Chamber, for like consideration,	£	s.	d.
6s. 8d.....	0	13	4
Paid to the rent-gatherer for gathering the rents, and potation money, of the said Mr. John Carpenter..	1	3	4
Paid to the friends of the said foure children for barbor, schoole, hose, shoes, and for other necessities for said foure children, due for this year.....	4	0	0
Paid for the comons of the said foure children, due for fifty-two weeks ended at Michaelmas, 1633, after the the rate of 3s. 6d. the week..	9	2	0
Paid to the friends of the said four children for 6 yards of London russett, for the coats of the said foure children, against Christide, 1632, 36s. And for 6 yards of new cullor for the coats of the said foure children against Whitsuntide, 1633, 36s. and for 24 yards of cotton, with buttons, and making the said coats, 26s.....	4	18	0

In 1827 the annual expenditure in respect to Carpenter's charity (income from his lands and tenements) had increased from £19. 10s. to £420. In 1833 this had increased to £900 per annum. Apparently the larger amount was still used for only four boys. This is an example, after the income from property over four hundred years had greatly increased, of a very large sum being used for an unsuitably small object. That is, the "foure poore boys" could have been multiplied many times if the whole charity had been properly used.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

*Times of John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London in the Reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI. and Founder of the City of London School: With an Appendix of Documents, and Particulars of Benefactions to the School.* By Thomas Brewer, Secretary of the School (London, 1856), pp. 131-44.



As a result of the report made by the Charity Commissioners (*Tenth Report, 1823*, p. 180), the expenditure from the charity was increased from £19 10s. per annum to about £420. In 1833 an act of Parliament (4 & 5 Wm. IV, c. 35, private) provided that the Carpenter estates (which had greatly increased in value) should not be used for the education of four boys but should furnish £900 a year toward the City of London School, the cornerstone of which was laid by Lord Brougham, who had been so largely responsible for the work of the Charity Commissioners.

At that time it was reported that the endowment of £900 a year did not absorb the whole amount of rental which was derived from the Carpenter bequest. The property later continued to increase in value and to yield greatly increased revenues. The property then seemed to include a total of 119 London houses besides other buildings.]

#### 10. THE CHARITABLE GIFTS OF A CITIZEN OF LONDON, 1580<sup>35</sup>

On the one and twentieth of April in the year 1580 departed this life master William Lambe esquire, . . . citizen of London, and free of the clothworkers. Of this man's alms-deeds and manifold charities, some before, some since his his death put in effectual practice, thus reporteth a memorial recorded in print, agreeing in truth with his last will and testament; an extract whereof for others imitation is necessary here. . . . This gentleman remembering that learning bringeth preferment, yea even to them which are but basely born, as it pleased God to move him by his good and gracious spirit, he proved himself by testimonials of his doings a lover of learning, and a favorer of every honest profession. For in the town of Sutton Valens in Kent, this worshipful gentleman at his own costs and proper expenses erected a grammar school for the education of youth in the fear of God, in good manners, in knowledge and understanding.

He also weighing with himself that the labourer ought of right to have his hire; and that no man goeth to war of his own proper charge, besides other commodities which he thought meet and necessary, hath allowed the master

twenty pounds, and the usher ten pounds, from time to time, as either place should be supplied by succession, for their yearly stipends and perpetual pensions. To continue the rehearsal of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note his tender and pitiful heart toward the poor, for whose sustentation, maintenance, and relief, he hath builded six alms houses for the impotent, and hath given six pounds to be yearly paid unto them for their necessary provision. Moreover, besides this charitable deed, to keep still within the compass of Kent, mark the singular love which this gentleman did bear unto learning; for the furtherance whereof, and the more encouragement of poor scholars, he hath given to the school of Maidstone ten pounds a year for ever, with this proviso, that needy men's children should be preferred to the enjoying of this singular benefit.

That this gentleman had not only a regard for the seed-plots of learning, to have them watered with the springs of his bounty; but also a provident eye, and a careful heart for the profit of the commonwealth, the particulars following substantially do prove. For, seeing in his lifetime the decay of sundry trades, the ruin of divers occupations, and other inconveniences, which are like to grow to the undoing of a multitude, except by policy they be prevented: of a mere affection . . . he hath freely given to the poor clothiers in Suffolk, to the poor clothiers of Bridgenorth in Shropshire, and to the poor clothiers at Ludlow in the said county, three hundred pounds, to be paid by even portions, to each several town of the said counties one hundred pounds a piece. . . .

Furthermore, the well of his well-doing not yet waxing dry, but yielding liquor of relief very largely, hath watered other places. For, as the country, so likewise the city [of London] hath cause, yea just cause with open mouth to magnify the goodness of God, so mightily working in this praiseworthy squire. The memorable monuments, which shall live when he is dead, . . . are witnesses of the love, which he being a citizen bare unto this city. For let us begin with the conduit which he of his own costs, not requiring either collection or contribution, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing expenses so it might be substantial, not pinching for charges so it might be durable and plentiful, as they can testify which saw the seeking of the springs, the manner of making the trenches, the ordering of the pipes, lying in length from the head to the said conduit, more than two thousand yards:

<sup>35</sup> From Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, ed. 1808), IV, 427-30.

and finally, the framing of every necessary apurtenance thereunto belonging. Besides this, means is made, by a standard, with one cock at Holborne bridge to convey the waste, which doth such service, the water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and wholesome, as neither rich nor poor can well miss. Which great work as he advisedly attempted, so he commendably finished, having disbursed thereabouts, of his own costs and charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

And yet further note the wisdom and providence of this gentleman, who considering that the right use of a good thing might cut off many occasions of unthriftiness and idleness, and knowing that we are placed in this world to follow the vocation whereunto we are called: besides that, seeing the hardness of this age wherein we live, that many would work if they had means, many neglect and care not for work though they have means, some would willingly withstand poverty if they might, some had rather beg and do worse than give themselves to labour, hath been thus beneficial to poor women that are glad to take pains, so to bestow upon them a hundred and twenty pails, wherewith to carry and serve water: an honest shift of living, though somewhat toilsome. To descend and come down to other his almsdeeds, you shall understand that he being a member of the right worshipful corporation and society of Clothworkers, was not forgetful of that company, unto whom he hath given his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and tenements, to the value of thirty pounds or thereabouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the hiring of a minister to read divine service thrice a week, that is, every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday throughout the year in the chapel or church belonging to his house, called by the name of Saint James in the wall by Cripple-gate; and for four sermons there yearly to be made and preached, a competent allowance.

Out of which sum also of thirty pounds, it is provided that a deduction be made by the said clothworkers, for appareling twelve men, and as many women, in form as followeth: that is to say, to every one of the twelve men one frieze gown, one lockram (linen) shirt, and a good strong pair of winter shoes: to twelve women likewise one frieze gown, one lockram smock, and a good strong pair of winter shoes, all ready made for their wearing: remembered always that they must be persons both poor and honest unto whom this charitable deed ought to be extended. Provided also, that the execution hereof

be done the first day of October, orderly from year to year for ever while the world doth last. Moreover, he hath given to those of his company four pounds freely, not for a time, but perpetually: and thus doth his bountifulness many ways appear. . . .

It is well known, . . . that this gentleman, for the space of these fourteen or fifteen years, while he lived, was pitiful to the poor of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes: in which said parish church, every Friday ordinarily throughout the year, distribution was made of their allowance by the hands of the said worshipful Stationers, to whom that charge was and is committed: namely, to twelve poor people twelve pence in money and twelve pence in bread. Neither is this charitable deed laid asleep, but continued even to the world's end, for the perpetual succour of the poor and impotent, a legacy of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, allowed to that end. . . .

As for Christ's Hospital, unto the which he hath proved himself a fatherly benefactor, towards the bringing up of the poor children, he hath given six pounds, which they shall enjoy for the term of five hundred years. Moreover (mark the rare liberality of this virtuous gentleman) he hath given to the said hospital one hundred pounds in ready money, wherewith to purchase lands that their relief, by the revenues of the same, might be perpetual: a notable deed, and an undoubted work of perfect Christianity. As for S. Thomas spital in Southwark, toward the succour of the sick and diseased, he hath given four pounds yearly, and for ever: so that we may see in all his proceedings with what mercy he was moved, with what pity pricked: and finally, in all respects how godly given. . . .

And although offenders deserve rather to be punished than favoured, . . . that their bodies apprehended, be committed to appointed places of imprisonment: yet this good gentleman remembering . . . that charity should not be partial but indifferent, hath for the relief of the poor prisoners of the two Counters of Newgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalsea, of the King's Bench, and of the White Lion, dealt very bountifully, and discreetly: giving unto the two Counters, six pounds to be paid unto them both by twenty shillings a month: and to the other prisons above mentioned, six mattresses apiece, the whole number being two dozen and a half. In consideration of which charitable deed, how deeply they are bound, if they have any sparkle of grace, to thank God for his goodness showed

unto them by the ministry of this gentleman, all the world may perceive. It were injury offered, to let slip unremembered his mindfulness of poor maids' marriages: and how willing he was to help them, it appeareth by his good gift of twenty pounds to be equally divided among forty such in number by equal portions of ten shillings apiece; . . .

I omit the hundred and eight frieze gowns ready made, which he bequeathed at his funeral to poor people both men and women: with the dispersing of the remnant of all his goods after his burial, where need and reason required. And thus you see what monument this gentleman hath left behind him, to bear witness to the world of the fruitfulness of his faith: . . . this epitaph graven in brass or copper, fixed upon his grave stone, comprising a note of our mortality: As I was, so are ye: As I am, you shall be: That I had, that I gave: That I gave, that I have: Thus I end all my cost: That I left, that I lost.

## II. PUBLIC PROTECTION OF CHARITABLE GIFTS

### 11. THE PROTECTION OF HOSPITALS, 1414<sup>36</sup>

. . . First, Forasmuch as many hospitals within the realm of England, founded as well by the noble kings of this realm, and lords and ladies . . . , as by divers other estates, . . . to the which hospitals the same founders have given a great part of their moveable goods for the buildings of the same, . . . and a great part of their lands and tenements, therewith to sustain impotent men and women, lazars, men out of their wits and poor women with child, and to nourish, relieve, and refresh other poor people in the same, be now for the most part decayed, and the goods and profits of the same, by divers persons as well spiritual as temporal, withdrawn and spent in other use, whereby many men and women have died in great misery for default of aid, living and succour . . . ; the King our Sovereign Lord, considering the meritorious and devout intents of the founder aforesaid, . . . hath . . . ordained and established, That as to the hospitals which be of the patronage and foundation of the King, the ordinaries, by virtue of the King's commission to them directed, shall inquire of the manner and foundation of the said hospitals, and of the governance and estate of the same, and of all other matters necessary and requisite in this behalf, and the in-

quisitions thereof taken shall certify in the King's Chancery. And as to other hospitals which be of another foundation and patronage than of the King, the ordinaries shall inquire of the manner of the foundation, estate, and governance of the same, and of all other matters and things necessary in this behalf, and upon that make thereof correction and reformation according to the laws of Holy Church, as to them belongeth.

### 12. GIFTS FOR THE POOR IN HOSPITALS

1572<sup>37</sup>

Whereas . . . King Edward the Sixth, . . . did found, erect, and establish three hospitals in and near to the city of London, called the hospitals . . . of Christ, Bridewell, and Saint Thomas the Apostle, and by his said letters patents gave and granted power and liberty for purchasing of lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the relief and sustentation of the poor in the said hospitals, . . . and whereas also . . . King Henry the Eighth . . . did found an hospital in West Smithfield called Little Saint Bartholomew's near London: and where divers well-disposed and charitable persons have given lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the relief and sustentation of the poor, not only in the said hospitals but also in other hospitals, and as it is hoped many more hereafter will likewise charitably give; and where many of such gifts and assurances have been and are likely to be made by the last wills of the givers thereof, at which time for want of council and other opportunities, it may happen that the right name of the said corporation hath not or shall not be truly named or expressed, whereby may grow some question of the validity of such grants, gifts, or devices; Be it therefore enacted . . . That all gifts, grants, legacies, devices, and assurances, made or to be made of any lands, tenements, and hereditaments by wills, feoffments or otherwise, to the use or for the relief of the poor in any hospitals now remaining and being in existence, and employed to the relief or maintenance of the poor in the said hospitals or any of them, shall be as good and available in law, according to the true meaning of any such donor, grantor, testator, deviser or assurer, . . . as if the said corpora-

<sup>36</sup> 2 Henry V (1414), *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 175.

<sup>37</sup> "An Act for the Assurance of Gifts, Grants, etc. Made and To Be Made for the Relief of the Poor in Hospitals, etc.," 14 Elizabeth (1572) c. 14, *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 605.

tion had been or were in the writings or deeds of such gifts, grant, devise, or assurance, or in such last will or testament, rightly or truly named; any such misnaming, misreciting or not true naming or reciting of the said corporation to the contrary notwithstanding. . . .

13. CHARITABLE GIFTS FOR "ABIDING AND  
WORKING HOUSES FOR THE POOR,"  
1597-98:<sup>38</sup>

Whereas at the last session of Parliament provision was made, as well for maimed soldiers by collection in every parish, as for other poor, that it should be lawful for every person during twenty years next after the said Parliament, by feoffment, will, in writing, or other assurance, to give and bequeath in fee simple to the use of the poor as for the provision, sustentation or maintenance of any house of correction or abiding houses, or of any stocks or stores, all or any part of his lands, tenements or hereditaments; her . . . Majesty understanding and finding that the said good law hath not taken such effect as was intended, by reason that no person can erect or incorporate any hospitals, houses of correction, or abiding places, but her Majesty, or by her Highness' special license by letters patents under the great seal of England in that behalf to be obtained: Her Majesty, graciously affecting the good success of so good and charitable works, and that without often suit unto Her Majesty, and with as great ease and little charge as may be, is . . . for the relief and comfort of maimed soldiers, mariners, and other poor and impotent people, . . . contented that it be enacted by the authority of . . . parliament, that all and every person and persons seised of an estate in fee simple, their heirs, executors, or assignees at his or their wills and pleasures, shall have full power, strength, license and lawful authority at any time during the space of twenty years next ensuing, by deed enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, to erect, found, and establish one or more hospitals, maisons de Dieu, abiding places, or houses of correction, at his or their will and pleasure, as well for the finding sustentation and relief of the maimed, poor, needy or impotent people, as to set the poor to work, to have continuance for ever, and from time to time to place therein such head and

members and such number of poor as to him, his heirs and assignees shall seem convenient; and that the same hospitals or houses so founded, shall be incorporated and have perpetual succession for ever in fact, deed, and name, and of such head members and numbers of poor, needy, maimed or impotent people as shall be appointed, assigned, limited or named by the founder or founders, his or their heirs, executors, or assignees, by any such deed enrolled; and that such hospital, maison de Dieu, abiding place, or house of correction, and the persons therein placed, shall be incorporated, named, and called by such names as the said founder or founders, his heirs, executors, or assignees shall so limit, assign, and appoint; and the same hospital, maison de Dieu, abiding place or house of correction, so incorporated and named, shall be a body corporate and politic, and shall by that name of incorporation have full power, authority, and lawful capacity and ability to purchase, take hold, receive, enjoy and have to them and to their successors for ever, as well goods and chattels as manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments being freehold of any person or persons whatsoever, so that the same exceed not the yearly value of two hundred pounds above all charges and reprises to any one such abiding house, hospital, maison de Dieu, or house of correction; and that the same hospital, maison de Dieu, abiding place, or house of correction, and the persons so being incorporated, founded, and named, shall have full power and lawful authority by the true name of the incorporation thereof, to sue and be sued, implead and to be impleaded, to answer and to be answered unto, in all manner of courts and places that now are or hereafter shall be within this realm, as well spiritual as temporal, in all manner of suits whatsoever, and of what nature and kind soever such suits or actions be or shall be: . . . and further shall be ordered, directed and visited, placed or upon just cause displaced, by such person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, their heirs, successors, or assignees, as shall be nominated or assigned by the founder or founders thereof, their heirs or assignees, according to such rules, statutes, and ordinances as shall be set forth, made, devised, or established by the said founder or founders, their heirs or assignees, in writing under his or their hands and seal, not being repugnant or contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm. . . .

<sup>38</sup> "An Act for Erecting of Hospitals or Abiding and Working Houses for the Poor," 39 Elizabeth (1597-98) c. 5, *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 902-3.



14. THE STATUTE OF CHARITABLE  
USES, 1601<sup>39</sup>

Whereas lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, hereditaments, goods, chattels, money and stocks of money have been heretofore given, limited, appointed and assigned, . . . some for relief of aged impotent and poor people, some for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners, schools of learning, free schools and scholars in universities, some for repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, seabanks, and highways, some for education and preferment of orphans, some for or toward relief, stock, or maintenance for houses of correction, some for marriages of poor maids, some for supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed, and others for relief or redemption of prisoners or captives, and for aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payments of fifteens, setting out of soldiers and other taxes; which lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, hereditaments, goods, chattels, money and stocks of money nevertheless have not been employed according to the charitable intent of the givers and founders thereof, by reason of frauds, breaches of trust and negligence in those that should pay, deliver, and employ the same: for redress and remedy whereof, Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the Lord Chancellor or keeper of the Great Seal of England for the time being, . . . from time to time to award commissions under the Great Seal of England, or the seal of the County Palatine, as the case shall require, into all or any part or parts of this realm respectively, according to their several jurisdictions as aforesaid, to the bishop of every several diocese and his chancellor, . . . and to other persons of good and sound behavior, authorising them thereby, or any four of them, to inquire, as well by the oaths of twelve lawful men or more of the county as by all other good and lawful ways and means, of all and singular such gifts, limitations, assignments

<sup>39</sup> "An Act To Redress the Misemployment of Lands, Goods, and Stocks of Money Heretofore Given to Charitable Uses," 43 Elizabeth (1601) c. 4, *Statutes of the Realm*, IV, 968-70.

and appointments aforesaid, and of the abuses, breaches of trusts, negligences, misemployments, not employing, concealing, defrauding, misconverting, or misgovernment, of any lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, hereditaments, goods, chattels, money, and stocks of money heretofore given, limited, appointed or assigned, or which hereafter shall be given, limited, appointed or assigned, to or for any the charitable and godly uses before rehearsed: and after the said commissioners or any four or more of them, upon calling the parties interested in any such lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, hereditaments, goods, chattels, money, and stocks of money, shall make inquiry by the oaths of twelve men or more of the said county, whereunto the said parties interested shall and may have and take their lawful challenge and challenges; and upon such inquiry, hearing, and examining thereof set down such orders, judgments, and decrees, as the said lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, goods, chattels, money and stocks of money may be duly and faithfully employed, to and for such of the charitable uses and intents before rehearsed respectively, for which they were given, limited, assigned or appointed by the donors and founders thereof: which orders, judgments, and decrees, not be contrary or repugnant to the orders, statutes, and decrees of the donors or founders, shall being the authority of this present Parliament stand firm and good according to the tenor and purport thereof, and shall be executed accordingly, until the same shall be undone or altered by the Lord Chancellor of England or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, . . . upon complaint by any party grieved, to be made to them. . . .

Provided also and be it enacted, That no person or persons that hath or shall have any of the said lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, hereditaments, goods, chattels, money, or stocks of money in his hands or possession, or doth or shall pretend title thereunto, shall be named a commissioner or a juror for any the causes aforesaid, or being named shall execute or serve in the same. . . .

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



## NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

### ON THE FAMINE CLOCK

It is already past the eleventh hour on the famine clock which is to toll the bell for those who are doomed in the postwar food crisis. We have let this tragedy fall on mil-

long tour and report from former President Hoover, who did not return until the second week in May to tell us of the needs of the famine areas. These needs have been known to organizations like U.N.R.R.A. for many

### "ANOTHER FOE TO CONQUER"



Justus in the "Minneapolis Star-Journal"

lions of people who are as innocent of responsibility for the present crisis as any of us in the United States—a country where there is plenty of food and of the other comforts of life. People in America say quite honestly that they want to help but that they have no clear directions as to what they should do. Certainly they do not understand why there should be a further delay for a

long months, and yet there are no clear lines of policy or planning.

As the *New York Times* has said emphatically: "We the people are ready for wheatless days, for the smaller loaf of bread, for cornbread, for oat bread, for any plan that effectively does the job." However, the *Times* also adds that if the rationing is to be "voluntary and originate with individual

abstinence there must be a pattern set for the whole nation to follow." A further statement from a *Times* editorial should also be quoted:

Can the Secretary of Agriculture tell us how many pieces of bread, or how many rolls, an American may limit himself to per day and do his share in fulfilling our obligation to the hungry abroad? Will he designate a wheatless day, each week, in which no bread is served while we dine, still bountifully, off other foods? If one day a week is not enough, will he designate two days? These are the practical policies reaching down into every home and restaurant,

that have to be set, and quickly. It is useless to speak in general terms. That is already obvious, because most people are still eating as much as they wish, and our wheat stocks have been steadily diminishing in the weeks that have drifted by while no strong policy emerged to cope with a recognized problem.

The American people are ready to accept Britain's sporting proposition, or any other, that will help feed the hungry. They wait for leadership.

The *Times* is right. America is a generous nation, and people here are not only kindly



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

THE WORLD'S NEW CASUALTY LISTS

and willing to share but they will make any sacrifices if they are only told what to do.

### EUROPE'S STARVING CHILDREN

KATHARINE LENROOT, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, makes an appeal in the *New Leader* (April 20, 1946) for the children of Europe. Miss Lenroot as a delegate to the International Labor Conference in Paris heard delegates from the liberated countries give graphic pictures of the plight of Europe's population, and espe-

cially of the children. Cold, hunger, and privation were everywhere, and there was dread of the "further weakening of the stamina of the people who had endured five years of war and occupation." It was commonly reported that all over Europe cemeteries were being enlarged against the winter's toll of life. With regard to the children, Miss Lenroot reported:

Cold, hunger, tuberculosis, and separation of families have had serious effects upon children and young persons in the countries that had

### A POSTWAR OLIVER TWIST



Shepard in "Punch"

THE WORLD ASKS FOR MORE

been occupied by the enemy. Economic life has broken down, material resources have been destroyed, the physical resistance of the people has been weakened through years of privation. People everywhere are undernourished and they are terribly tired. Workmen do not have sufficient food to make them effective producers. Schools have been destroyed or used for other purposes. Health and social services will have to be rebuilt.

One of the delegates to the International Conference was the Polish Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, Jan Stanczyk, who reported to the conference concerning the needs in his country. There were a million homeless in the bitter cold of a northern winter. Of these, at least three hundred thousand were living in holes in the earth, and some were without either clothing or shoes. A later report was to the effect that 75 per cent of the adults and 85 per cent of the children of Poland were without shoes. "Our people can stand being without food," Stanczyk said, "for they are used to it, but they can't stand being without clothing in the cold of winter."

Of Poland's seven million children under the age of fourteen years, six hundred and fifty thousand were said to be full orphans (the death of their parents having been confirmed) and three hundred thousand were separated from their parents, who had been placed in concentration camps or deported to Germany for forced labor and of whom many must have died. One million Polish children had lost one parent, and two million children with their parents needed to be clothed and partially fed because their parents were now too impoverished to care for them.

The story of the displaced peoples of Europe is stark tragedy. Already millions have been repatriated, but nearly a million are still in assembly centers in Germany, including many Poles and people from the Baltic countries. In October, approximately 100,000 children under the age of 14 years were reported to be in these barracks, living 8 to 12 in a room, adults and children crowded together with no possibility of privacy. A few hundred orphan children were being given good care in special children's cen-

ters. Every effort was being made by the workers on the U.N.R.R.A. staff, including many splendid Americans, to do the best possible job for these tragic victims of the war. I talked with young girls with numbers tattooed on their arms, who had been in the German torture camps at Belsen and elsewhere.

The destruction in Germany itself is beyond belief. All but two of the cities of 50,000 and over are in ruins—flattened out or with broken walls stark against the sky. The people have less than half the amount of food usually considered necessary for health.

U.N.R.R.A. reaches only certain countries without foreign exchanges or credit with which to purchase imports that have requested help from this organization. It is not operating in the countries of Western Europe.

Miss Lenroot is right in reminding us that in the midst of "hunger, disease and confusion unequaled since the Thirty Years War," not only the relief of distress but the future peace and stability of the world are at stake—and care for the children both in the liberated and in enemy countries is a first claim on all of us.

### THE BREAK-UP OF THE POOR LAW<sup>1</sup>

IN THE first part of the Minority Report of the last Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Mrs. Sidney Webb gave England the famous reform slogan "The Break-up of the Poor Law." In this report, Mrs. Webb and the other members of the commission who signed the Minority Report set forth with devastating logic the importance of removing category after category from the "disguised and swollen poor law." Although the Webbs and their followers who joined in the great "crusade for the break-up of the poor law" were not successful at the time, their great plan has been slowly adopted, first by one party and then by another.

The family means test disappeared during the war, and now the last remnant of lo-

<sup>1</sup> See this *Review*, XVI (December, 1942), 667-70, for an earlier British P.E.P. report on the break-up of the poor law, which appeared in 1942 before the Beveridge Report was issued.

cal responsibility is gone. Sir Ronald Davison has written recently that we shall soon see "the last of the ancient Poor Law service of England and Wales." It has, as he points out, "already been broken up beyond recognition"; and now at long last "its remnants are to be nationalised under the Ministry of National Insurance." This is the end of local responsibility and the final triumph of the Minority Report of 1909. Happily, a minority sometimes becomes a majority.

The great lesson for America in this break-up of the old English poor law is to stop, look, and listen when the specious discussions of "integration" continue in our country. Integration of the social security categories with general relief is an attempt here, as Mrs. Webb pointed out for England, to bring about "the extension of public assistance by a disguised and swollen poor law." The great objective of the welfare movement in America should be "the break-up of the poor law" and not the integration in the general relief pool of the services that have been rescued from the poor law.

The poor law everywhere has been the outgrowth of conditions that create destitute groups for whom no special provision has been made. If there is no other method of care for the mentally ill, the unemployed, the sick, the handicapped and crippled; if there is no provision for the aged, for children, for persons suffering from invalidity, many of these unfortunate people must be supported from time to time out of general relief funds, now called "general public assistance."

There is nothing modern about the poor law. It was America's plan of relief in the seventeenth century. The modern policy is to get rid of the need for a poor law. The democratic American policy should be to have special provision made, not on the basis of destitution but because of the special situation that has led to need. That means new categories—not the integration with the poor law of those we have.

In the nineteenth century, certain cate-

gories were removed from the poor law—the mentally ill, the mentally deficient, blind children and deaf children, and some dependent children. In the twentieth century, before the great depression, very successful attempts were being made to remove two other categories from the poor law by means of mothers' aid laws and old age pensions.

The sick and the unemployed were still sent to the general relief offices when the depression broke. The great Social Security Act moved forward with the business of breaking up the poor law by means of unemployment compensation, old age and survivors benefits and grants-in-aid to remove the aged at sixty-five, the dependent children, and the blind. It was hoped that there would be no unemployed, no aged, no dependent children, no blind looking for help to general assistance through the poor law as our state laws were slowly improved. However, the reactionary word "integration" put the welfare group on the wrong track in search of a wrong objective with the attempt to move these categories back into general assistance. This kind of "integration" is a step backward after two steps forward.

The last step in the break-up of the English poor law is an achievement for us to consider very thoughtfully. Beatrice Webb is no longer here to know that her great idea has finally triumphed; but before her death the march of the categories was steadily going on, and she could see that the poor law was doomed.

#### THE NEW BRITISH HEALTH SERVICE BILL

AT a time when even an old-fashioned health insurance bill is not getting very far in the United States in the face of A.M.A. opposition, the British Parliament is debating their National Health Service Bill, which will provide medical care free for everyone—without a means test, and not restricted to the insured wage-earners. This is the modern substitute for the medical care and treatment provisions of the older British health insurance system. It is a new pro-

\* See this *Review*, XVIII (June, 1944), 244, "Integration—Which Way?"



gram, recommended by Beveridge and accepted by British Tories and liberals as well as by labor members.

This bill, which has passed its second reading as we go to press, is so important that we are reprinting here some parts of the official *Summary* of the bill.<sup>1</sup> Even if the best we can hope for in America is an old-fashioned health insurance measure—and there is not much assurance that we shall get even that—we ought to know what a really modern health service bill provides:

#### NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE BILL: SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED NEW SERVICE

The Bill provides for the establishment of a comprehensive health service in England and Wales. A further Bill to provide for Scotland will be introduced later. . . .

*Scope of the service.*—The Bill provides for the following kinds of health services:—

(i) Hospital and specialist services—i.e. all forms of general and special hospital provision, including mental hospitals, together with sanatoria, maternity accommodation, treatment during convalescence, medical rehabilitation and other institutional treatment. These cover in-patient and out-patient services, the latter including clinics and dispensaries operated as part of any specialist service. The advice and services of specialists of all kinds are also to be made available, where necessary, at Health Centres and in the patient's home.

(ii) Health Centres and general practitioner services—i.e. general personal health care by doctors and dentists whom the patient chooses. These personal practitioner services are to be available both from new publicly equipped Health Centres and also from the practitioners' own surgeries.

(iii) Various supplementary services—including midwifery, maternity and child welfare, health visiting, home-nursing, a priority dental service for children and expectant and nursing mothers, domestic help where needed on health grounds, vaccination and immunisation against infectious diseases, additional special care and after-care in cases of illness, ambulance services, blood transfusion and laboratory services. (Spe-

cial school health services are already provided for in the Education Act of 1944.)

(iv) The provision of spectacles, dentures and other appliances, together with drugs and medicines—at hospitals, Health Centres, clinics, pharmacists' shops and elsewhere, as may be appropriate.

*Availability of the service.*—All the service, or any part of it, is to be available to everyone in England and Wales. The Bill imposes no limitations on availability—e.g. limitations based on financial means, age, sex, employment or vocation, area of residence, or insurance qualification.

The last is important. If the National Insurance Bill now before Parliament is passed into law, almost everyone will become compulsorily insurable, and after payment of the appropriate contributions will become entitled to the various cash benefits—including sickness and maternity benefits—for which that Bill provides. A proportion of their contributions will be used to help to finance the health services under the present Bill, but the various health service benefits under the present Bill are not made conditional upon any insurance qualification or the proof of having paid contributions. There are no waiting or qualifying periods.

The service is to be available from a date to be declared by Order in Council under the Bill, and it is hoped that this will be at the beginning of the year 1948.

*The service to be free of fees or charges.*—The health service is to be financed partly from the exchequer, partly from local rates, partly from the help (mentioned above) which part of the National Insurance contributions will give. There are to be no fees or charges to the patient, with the following exceptions:—

(i) There will be some charges (to be prescribed later by regulations) for the renewal or repair of spectacles, dentures and other appliances, where this is made necessary through negligence in the care of the articles provided.

(ii) There will be charges (taking into account ability to pay) for the provision of domestic help under the Bill and for certain goods or articles (e.g. supplementary foods, blankets, etc.) which may be provided in connection with maternity and child welfare or the special care or after-care of the sick.

(iii) It will be open to people if they wish, in certain cases, to pay for additional amenities within the arrangements of the service—e.g. to pay extra for articles or appliances of higher

<sup>1</sup> Great Britain Ministry of Health, *National Health Service Bill: Summary of the Proposed New Service* (Cmd. 6761) (March, 1946).

cost than those normally made available, or to pay charges for private rooms in hospitals (which they will nevertheless be able to obtain free where privacy is medically necessary).

*General organisation of the service.*—The Bill places a general duty upon the Minister of Health to promote a comprehensive health service for the improvement of the physical and mental health of the people of England and Wales, and for the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness. To bring physical and mental health closer together in a single service, it transfers to the Minister the present administrative functions of the Board of Control in regard to mental health (the Board retaining only its quasi-judicial functions connected with the liberty of the subject).

The Bill proposes that the Minister shall discharge his general responsibility through three main channels:—

(a) For parts of the service to be organised on a new national or regional basis—i.e. hospital and specialist services, blood transfusion and bacteriological laboratories for the control of epidemics—the Minister is to assume direct responsibility; but he is to entrust the actual administration of the hospital and specialist services to new regional and local bodies established under the Bill. These bodies are to act on his behalf in suitable areas to be prescribed by him, and they are to include people of practical experience and local knowledge and some with professional qualifications. Special provision is made for hospitals which are the centres of medical and dental teaching.

(b) For parts of the service to be organised as a function of local government—i.e. the provision of new Health Centre premises and a variety of local domiciliary and clinic services—direct responsibility is put upon the major local authorities, the county and county borough councils. They will stand in their ordinary constitutional relationship with the central Ministry, but their general arrangements for these local services are made subject to the Minister's approval.

(c) For the personal practitioner services both in the Health Centres and outside—i.e. the family doctor and dentist and the pharmacist—new local executive machinery is created, in the form of local Executive Councils. One half of the members of each of these Councils will consist of people nominated by the major local authorities and by the Minister, and the other half of people nominated by the local pro-

fessional practitioners concerned. There will normally be an Executive Council for each of the major local authorities' areas, and they will work within national regulations made by the Minister.

By the Minister's side, to provide him with professional and technical guidance, there is to be set up a Central Health Services Council. This will include people chosen from all the main fields of experience within the service—with various standing committees of experts on particular subjects, medical, dental, nursing and others. [Each of these branches of the new organization is described in more detail in the rest of the official *Summary*, from which we include only a few extracts.]

#### GENERAL PRACTITIONER SERVICES

This part of the service covers the personal health services provided by general medical practitioners and dentists and the supply of drugs, medicines and appliances.

To arrange these services locally new bodies—to be called Executive Councils—are to be established in the area of each county and county borough. As already explained, each Council is to be so composed that one half of its members are professional—appointed by the local doctors, dentists, and chemists through their own representative committees in the area—while the other half of the members are to be appointed partly by the local county or county borough council. . . .

*Health Centres.*—A main feature of the personal practitioner services is to be the development of Health Centres. The object is that the Health Centre system, based on premises technically equipped and staffed at public cost, shall afford facilities both for the general medical and dental services (described immediately below) and also for many of the special clinic services of the local health authorities (described later), and sometimes also for out-post clinics of the hospital and specialist services (already described). Beside forming a base for these services—e.g. providing doctors with equipped and staffed consulting rooms in which to see their patients—the Centres will also be able to serve as bases for various activities in health education.

The Bill makes it the duty of the county and county borough councils to provide, equip, staff and maintain the new Health Centres to the satisfaction of the Minister. The local authorities will directly administer such of their own

local clinic facilities as they may provide in the Centres. Doctors and dentists, however, who use the new Centres while participating in the general personal practitioner service will be in contract only with the new Executive Councils, and it will be for those Councils to arrange with the local authorities for the use of the Centres' facilities by those doctors and dentists. In the case, for instance, of doctors in the general practitioner service the Centres will, in effect, stand in place of the doctors' own surgeries and the doctors' responsibilities to their patients on their personal lists—e.g. in visiting their patients' homes and in general responsibility for their patients at all times—are not affected by whether a doctor practises from a Health Centre or not.

*Family doctor service.*—All doctors are to be entitled to take part in the new arrangements in the areas where they are already practising when the scheme begins. Taking part will not debar them from also continuing to make private arrangements for treating such people as still wish to be treated outside the service instead of taking advantage of the new arrangements, provided that such persons are not on their lists as public patients or on the lists of their partners in a Health Centre. People will be free to choose their own doctor (including their present doctor) subject to the doctor's consenting and being in a position to undertake their care.

All doctors taking part in this part of the new service will be in contract with the Executive Council for the area in which they practise. The Executive Council will be required to draw up and publish lists of all general practitioners who wish to participate. People will then choose their doctor and each doctor will have his own list of the people whom he has agreed to attend. There will be machinery for allocating among the doctors concerned such people as wish to take advantage of the service but have not chosen a doctor for themselves or have been refused by the doctor chosen by them. The relationship of the doctor with any person on his list—i.e. his functions under this part of the service—will then be similar to the ordinary relationship of doctor to patient as it is now known, except that the doctor's remuneration will come from public funds and not directly from the patient.

The Bill itself does not determine the detailed terms and conditions for doctors joining in the service or the doctors' remuneration. These are left to be settled by regulations and

the necessary regulations will be made in consultation with the doctors' professional representatives. It is, however, the intention that remuneration should take the form of a combination of fixed part-salary and of capitation fees, the latter varying with the number of persons whose care is undertaken by each doctor and being so graduated as to diminish in scale as the total number of patients rises. Variations of the fixed part-salary will be possible so as to take account of different circumstances and experience and the differing conditions of practice in particular areas. It is intended also to institute, under powers contained in the Bill, a contributory superannuation scheme for doctors taking part in the new arrangements.

Actual rates of remuneration for doctors can be determined, in consultation with the profession, only after the report has been received of the Spens Committee—a special committee set up, by agreement with the profession's representatives and under the chairmanship of Sir Will Spens, with a membership half medical and half non-medical, to make an independent report on the appropriate range of remuneration for doctors taking part in a publicly organised service of this kind.

When the necessary regulations affecting terms of service and remuneration have been settled it will be for the Executive Councils to contract with the doctors on the lines thus described.

*Distribution of medical practices.*—To help in dealing with the needs of under-doctored areas it is intended, as already indicated, to adjust the scales of remuneration of doctors so as to provide additional inducement to practise in less attractive areas. In addition, a new body to be called the Medical Practices Committee, mainly professional in composition, is to be appointed under the Bill to regulate in future the succession to old, or the opening of new, practices within the service. . . .

*Supply of drugs, medicines and appliances.*—Those who use the general practitioner service will be entitled to the supply, free of charge, of necessary drugs, medicines and appliances. A charge will be made if appliances have to be prematurely repaired or replaced as a result of carelessness, and if the patient chooses to be supplied with more expensive appliances than those normally supplied he will be expected to meet the additional cost involved. . . .

*Dental service.*—The arrangements for dental services will be on rather a different basis from

the family doctor service. Priority will be given to expectant mothers and young people. This is to be done through the local health authority's maternity and child welfare service (which the Bill expressly provides is to include dental care) and through the school health services under the Education Act, 1944. Outside the priority arrangements there will be a general dental service made available, but there will not at first be any guarantee that all people will be able to obtain full dental care without waiting. Any dentist who wishes to participate in the general dental service will have the right to do so, and the Executive Council in each area will draw up and publish a list of those who undertake to participate in the service.

The object will be to develop general dental services in the Health Centres, or corresponding Dental Centres, as much and as quickly as possible. . . .

*Eye services.*—The object is to secure that the care of the eyes, with sight-testing and the supply of spectacles, is carried out—as rapidly as resources allow—in special ophthalmic departments and clinics forming part of the hospital and specialist service. These clinics will be in the charge of specialist medical ophthalmologists, and in them the qualified sight-testing opticians will also play their proper professional part. Spectacles will be obtainable either at the clinics themselves or at the premises of dispensing opticians taking part in the service. . . .

[The other sections of the *Summary* cover such subjects as local government services, including maternity and child welfare and midwifery, health visiting and home nursing, local mental-health services, vaccination and immunization, ambulance service, care and after-care of the sick, domestic help (home helps), health centers, and health committees; and general administrative and financial provisions.]

It is estimated that the total cost of the National Health Service as now planned will, in the early years, be approximately £152,000,000, which will come from taxes and from local rates with a certain sum allocated from the National Insurance Scheme, although those who have paid insurance contributions will not receive any kind of preferential treatment. Of course, the bill will not and cannot provide immediately a perfect service, and there are those who

complain that it is not really a "Health Service Bill" but rather a bill concerned too exclusively with better provision for the needs of the sick.<sup>2</sup> But here are the beginnings of a great new system of which Britain can be very proud.

### LA GUARDIA TAKES OVER

FIORIELLO LA GUARDIA became the new head of U.N.R.R.A. on April first. In his address at Atlantic City when he accepted the position of director general, there was all the "Little Flower's" punch. He explained, unnecessarily, that he was not a diplomat—"from this point on, protocol is off." His task, he said, was "to take food where we can find it and bring it to people who are in need, wherever they may be." His second problem, he said, was "the health problem to prevent epidemics, to control such epidemics that have started, and to maintain the general public health in countries where it is threatened." And the third problem he saw was to give aid "wherever needed in getting people rehabilitated so as to be self-sustaining."

It is food that we need. The people are crying for bread, not advice. I want plows, not typewriters. The people need relief, not sympathy. I want fast-moving ships, not slow-reading resolutions. People can't eat resolutions, and even the people in our country have learned through a period of depression that ticker tape isn't spaghetti.

The *Nation*, commenting on U.N.R.R.A.'s new chief, said:

The dynamic attack by Fiorello La Guardia on the tasks facing U.N.R.R.A. must have sent a tremor through the creaking joints of that unwieldy organization. If one man can make it operate at anything like the efficiency the terrible situation calls for, that man is La Guardia. . . . We need high-powered drive, a determination to cut red tape into confetti and save lives. We need a touch of drama. We need a little ferocity. All in all, we need New York's recent Mayor, and I am glad he has, for the duration of hunger, abandoned the typewriter for the meat-ax.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 1-2.



Whether La Guardia can make the "unwieldy organization" function rapidly enough to meet the present emergency remains an unanswered question. He was right in emphasizing the fact that U.N.R.R.A. is a new and hopeful organization. "Has ever before in the history of the entire world forty-eight nations come together to save lives?"

The American people are kindly; they wouldn't want to see mass suffering. I am sure they will respond if we can get all of the facts to them. And I now swallow my pride, and this is difficult for me to do, and ask the newspapers for their full and complete cooperation.

People are hungry. It is our responsibility to feed them if we can get the food and get it over there. . . .

We are united [the new director said] to preserve life, to build, not to kill, not to destroy. There is no precedent in law or international law. There is precedent for [the spirit of U.N.R.R.A.] in the old scripture, in the new scripture, to love our neighbor, to aid the needy. . . .

As the sun rises from place to place, there is one continuous prayer, to hear the gods asking for the heavenly kingdom to come to earth, and then in every language spoken by man, in every dialect of every language, give us this day our daily bread. That is our call. That is all there is to it, to respond to that prayer.

### JUDGE RIFKIND'S REPORT

JUDGE SIMON H. RIFKIND of the United States District Court transmitted this spring a final report as special adviser on Jewish affairs to the European theater commander, General McNarney (*New York Times*, April 8, 1946). Judge Rifkind's authoritative and convincing statement must be welcomed by everyone concerned about the large problem of displaced people, and especially by those concerned to help the surviving remnant of the Jewish people of Europe and anxious to know what should be done for them. "Rapid, mass settlement," Judge Rifkind believes to be "the only means of solving the problem of the European Jews," who, he estimates, number 100,000 in Germany and Austria. "Unless

the world is prepared immediately to make a place for them," Judge Rifkind has warned us, "it will drive to despair and disaster this handful of a decimated people. . . . Their civilization, so laboriously created over the centuries, has been brought low; its leadership is dead; its institutions—economic, social, religious and scholarly—are demolished."

So ruthless was the Hitler campaign of destruction that "some 6,000,000 Jews fell martyred by the Nazis," leaving not more than 1,250,000 Jews in Europe "east of the English Channel and west of the pre-war borders of Russia." Among Jews in Austria and Germany, the report said, family life is virtually unknown—"the members of their families are dead. They are destitute; the Germans stripped them of everything; a child is a rare treasure among them; extermination of the young was a Nazi priority."

Although Jewish "displaced persons" suffer from "psychological and physical ills as a result of life in the concentration camps and the experiments they have endured," Judge Rifkind rejects a tendency which seems to have developed in some quarters to regard Jewish displaced persons as institutionalized "problem children," since he believes this is a tendency "pointed in the wrong direction." The report opposed any plans to retard or restrict the movement of the displaced Jews by intensified police control as "inappropriate when applied to persecuted groups, Jewish and non-Jewish."

Judge Rifkind praises the American Army for its handling of displaced persons, but he charges that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration "refused to contribute any supplies to the displaced persons." In this connection he also maintains that the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, "whose responsibility covered the field of resettlement, has by its own directives rendered itself impotent to deal with the problem." He thinks that the committee "has accomplished nothing in the way of resettlement of the Jewish displaced persons and can accomplish nothing under



its present policies." All the displaced Jews, according to the report, "have but one earnest wish, to be quit of Europe, and most of them have one other compelling desire to emigrate to Palestine."

Since Judge Rifkind's report appeared, the Anglo-American Committee has issued its long-awaited report, which is now being vigorously discussed in our own newspapers and abroad. The *Review* still believes, as we have said before, that the proper solution of this question is an amendment to our own immigration law which would make possible the admission of this group to the United States.

### THE "D.P.'S" AT ATLANTIC CITY

THE plenary session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Council adopted unanimously March 28 a resolution upholding U.N.R.R.A.'s right to care for displaced persons without the consent of their governments, a question that was the occasion of bitter debate at the Council meeting in London. A provision to facilitate repatriation was said to be a factor in overcoming Russian opposition. Since this question is of widespread interest in the welfare group, the account published in the *New York Times* (March 29, 1946) of the discussion of the rights of refugees is reprinted here as follows:

On the long-debated question of UNRRA's continuing to care for political refugees without the consent of their governments, today's final session of the committee of the whole on policy agreed upon a resolution satisfactory to all governments that were in bitter dispute at the last UNRRA council meeting in London. This resolution was adopted unanimously by the council in plenary session.

Maintained was the principle that UNRRA has a right to care for displaced persons without the consent of their government, as insisted upon by the United States and United Kingdom. At the same time, the resolution set up procedures under which repatriation would be greatly facilitated as insisted upon by Russia and the countries in her sphere of influence. The last-minute reinstatement of a clause that would provide also that UNRRA make efforts to

facilitate settlement of the displaced was pleasing to the South American nations interested in immigration from Europe of agricultural and technical workers.

Tyler Wood, United States alternate, who sponsored the displaced persons resolution, termed its unanimous acceptance after concessions from all governments concerned a high adventure in pushing on up to common ground. . . .

The resolution, as adopted by the council provides:

1. That the authority of UNRRA in the displaced persons camps to care for people without consent of their governments is continued to be reviewed at its next regular session.

2. That in so caring for these people, the administration shall do everything in its power to bring about removal of conditions that may interfere with repatriation of the displaced persons at the earliest possible moment. To do this the administration is directed to: (a) remove any handicaps to repatriation in the assembly centers; (b) make available maximum facilities and personnel for repatriation; (c) complete registration of displaced persons and compile data on their skills and employment qualifications to be reported to repatriation and resettlement agencies; (d) make reports every two months to the central committee on the problems and progress of repatriation; (e) ascertain which of the displaced persons receiving UNRRA aid wish to be repatriated.

3. That the council recommends to occupying authorities that "only those persons who have been properly nominated by presently recognized Governments shall be accredited" and permitted to serve as liaison officers. This provision was put in because of the complaint of the Polish government that the London Poles had been allowed authority in some of the camps.

4. That the administration shall keep in touch with the governments concerned with a view to reaching agreements on operations in the displaced persons camps, and that in event of such disagreements the disputes "may be referred by either party to the Central Committee for its consideration." This paragraph was hotly debated . . . due to a move by the Russian bloc to insert in it a provision for a committee to visit the camps.

Mr. Noel-Baker charged that this would be in effect a reinstatement of a provision for a displaced persons subcommittee, which was

voted down. . . . Director General Lehman again said any permanent committee set up to oversee the camps would constitute an intolerable division of authority. The Russian member, Mr. Feonov, consented to vote for the paragraph minus any provision for an inspection committee with the understanding that it would not preclude the sending in of simple missions of inspection in case the central committee decided so to do.

Two other resolutions adopted were as follows:

That all possible facilitation be given so that the people in the camps may receive full information from their countries of origin. Poland has made the charge that an "iron curtain" was drawn around her displaced persons with the result that they distrusted their native land.

That the UNRRA council do everything possible to expedite "early creation of a United Nations body" to take over the whole problem of displaced persons and immigration, in such a way as to facilitate resettlement and otherwise provide a solution to the problems that will confront the remaining displaced persons when the administration's assistance comes to an end. A meeting has been set in London . . . for the purpose of formulating an international organization on refugees. This probably could not be set up and got into functioning order before the spring of 1947.

#### SOME HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES IN THE U.S.S.R.

SOME useful material dealing with health and welfare services for mothers and children in Russia has been made available by the United States Children's Bureau in a substantial mimeographed report.<sup>1</sup>

The report deals with the governmental authorities concerned with health and welfare services—the general legislative and

administrative branches, including the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the Council of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the legislative and administrative branches in the territorial divisions of the U.S.S.R. The public health authorities are then covered, including the Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R., which has a Department of Maternity Care, a Department of Child-Health Services, a Medical Advisory Committee and Advisory Council, and a special Council on Curative and Preventive Treatment for Children. The health and welfare services for mothers and children include maternity clinics, maternity homes, rest homes, and bureaus of legal aid. There are child-health centers in cities, children's clinics, medical and dental care for school children, feeding of school children, day nurseries, institutions for children, and foster-family care.

With regard to mothers and children in rural areas the Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. has been giving particular attention to the health of the rural population. In addition to services similar to those in cities, such as child-health centers, clinics, hospitals, and maternity homes, the rural districts have agencies not available in cities—intended to meet the particular needs of rural life. Among these are rural medical stations, *feldsher's*<sup>2</sup> stations, and midwife stations.

<sup>1</sup> A *feldsher* may be briefly described as a physician's assistant. He is a graduate of a special school with a three-year course limited to certain medical subjects; his professional field is definitely restricted. He is allowed to give first aid and treatment for minor illnesses, either at his office or in the patient's home, within the limitations imposed on his activities. More serious cases must be referred by him to a physician in the district. The *feldsher* inspects health conditions in the day nurseries, kindergartens, schools, and vacation camps in his district and examines the children in these institutions.

In the localities lacking physicians, the *feldsher* watches the well children under the general supervision of the physician in charge of the rural medical station, who visits these localities at intervals. The *feldsher* inspects the well children between the physician's examinations and selects for the physician's attention those who do not develop normally. He must be present at the examinations by the

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Health and Welfare Services for Mothers and Children in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics from Original Russian Sources," by Anna Kalet Smith (Washington, D.C., 1945). Pp. v+40. This report is not based on the writer's observation of conditions but is translated from published Russian sources, and the Bureau explains that no effort has been made to evaluate the material. Making this material available is in line with the interest of the Bureau in mothers and children in all nations.

The health services in the rural part of a province are supervised by the public health inspector of the provincial department of health. Both the commissariat of public health of each republic and the Commissariat of Public Health of the U.S.S.R. have special bureaus for the general supervision of all health work in rural localities.

Other activities connected with services for mothers and children include all-Union state sanitary inspection, training of personnel, participation of citizens' groups in work for mothers and children, and enforcement of protective legislation.

Another rural service is the special sanatorium for children on collective farms. Such sanatoriums were set up for the first time in 1944 in several localities at the suggestion of rural physicians, who had found that many farmers' children suffering from rickets, malnutrition, and other conditions did not respond to treatment while staying at home. The farmers pay for their children's board at these sanatoriums, where the children are treated by the physician stationed in the locality, who is aided by graduate nurses. The sanatoriums, usually accommodating up to forty patients, are maintained jointly by the collective farms and the official local commissions for the care of soldiers' families.

With regard to child labor legislation, industrial employment is regulated by the Labor Code, and the minimum age for employment is sixteen, with exemptions permitted at the age of fourteen. However, employment at fourteen has become frequent since 1941 because of the wartime shortage of manpower. The Labor Code prohibits the employment of boys under eighteen and of women of all ages in work which is considered harmful or dangerous. Before 1940 there was a six-hour working day for persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, but after 1940 there was an eight-hour day except that persons under

sixteen, or those in harmful or dangerous occupations, could work only six or seven hours a day. At the same time, the working week, which had been only five days for all employed persons, became a six-day week. Overtime was prohibited for persons under eighteen and for expectant and nursing mothers before 1941. Since then, because of the war, overtime of not more than two hours a day has been allowed for children under sixteen and not more than three hours for older persons.

Night work is prohibited under the Labor Code for boys under eighteen and for women of all ages. However, the Commissariat of Labor was authorized, in urgent cases, to permit night work for adult women, except for women beginning with the sixth month of pregnancy or during the first six months of nursing.

Maternity leave is regulated by the law of July 8, 1944, to provide greater protection of the family. By law, nursing mothers are allowed time for nursing their children, and this time is included in the hours of work. Protective legislation for working mothers remained in force during the war.

School attendance, which was voluntary in Russia under the czars, was made compulsory soon after the overthrow of the old regime in 1917. Because of the immensity of the problem and the insufficiency of facilities needed to provide schooling for all children of school age, the government decided to introduce compulsory attendance gradually, making it applicable at first to the older children and extending it by degrees to the younger age group, first in cities and later in rural localities. In September, 1944, the compulsory attendance law was extended to include children of seven, and the budget for the calendar year contained appropriations to meet the increased needs. All children of seven must now attend school, continuing until they complete a seven-year course, with a longer period of attendance required for young persons who plan to enter certain professions.

The government is required to provide sufficient school buildings, teaching staff,

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physician. The feminine counterpart of a *feldsher* is a *feldsheritsa*. Large numbers of both are trained and employed in the U.S.S.R.

and other necessities. Clothing, shoes, food, transportation, and textbooks are supplied to those children who otherwise would be unable to attend school or would not be in condition to benefit by the instruction; residential schools have been built in recent years for children living in isolated localities. Parents or guardians failing to send their children to school are subject to penalties under the law.

Altogether this is a timely, interesting, and useful collection of material.

#### NURSES IN EUROPE: REPORT OF A RED CROSS NURSE

**A**N INTERESTING report about nursing conditions in Europe was made recently by Gertrude Banfield of the American Red Cross Nursing Services, who attended the meeting of the Nursing Advisory Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies held in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1946. Represented at the meeting were members of Red Cross societies of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland; and among them were several "Old Internationals."

Since her return Miss Banfield has reported that it is difficult for nurses here to appreciate what those of other countries have endured during the war years of horror, privation, and isolation and, consequently, what it means to them to be able to share their problems and hopes and aspirations again. She says that they are starved for professional literature and contacts. They look to this country for leadership and assistance, yet they give evidence of solving their seemingly overwhelming problems.

The shortage of professional nurses in most European countries is not only acute because of the appalling state of health in those nations, but all nurses are near exhaustion after the strenuous war years and need relief for their own rehabilitation. In comparison, the registered nurses, student nurses, and nurse's aides of the United States are more than the total of those com-

bined European countries. Contributing to their nurse-shortage problems are low salaries, undesirable working and living conditions, and competition with more attractive work for women.

The League of Red Cross Societies is providing assistance to nurses with early tuberculosis in war-torn countries and has enabled about thirty-six nurses to rest from two to six months either in Switzerland or in their own country. Denmark has offered convalescent facilities to twenty or thirty nurses from the Netherlands and has sent an equal number of Danish nurses to replace them during their absence.

Study under the Florence Nightingale International Foundation gradually is being revived and will help to supply the urgently needed scholarships for study abroad for European nurses. The committee in New Zealand has taken the initiative in providing scholarships for a Chinese nurse to study at the postgraduate school at Wellington, New Zealand, and for a Greek nurse to study in Canada.

Two recommendations proposed at the meeting dealt with the preparation of nurses and nurse's aides: (1) that efforts be pursued to unify the basic training of Red Cross trained nurses and to facilitate reciprocity and the exchange of nurses between countries; and (2) that the essential items in the instruction of voluntary nurse's aides be studied.

Following the meeting in Geneva, Miss Banfield visited the American Red Cross Western Base Headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany, where she observed the nursing work in the A.R.C. staff health and civilian war-relief programs. She also took a 1,500 mile jeep trip through northeastern France, western Germany, Belgium, and Holland.

"It is impossible to describe the miseries of the peoples of those countries," Miss Banfield says. "The British, too, look pinched and cold and completely weary like the others. But the Hollanders are an inspiration to the world. In spite of the facts that 50 per cent of the children of some sections are unable to go to school because they have



no clothes and that seven thousand cases of open tuberculosis are unhospitalized because of unavailable nurses and hospital beds, they keep their country bright with flowers, scrub their window- and doorframes, and maintain courage and ambition to repair their dikes, to pump out the water of flooded sections, and to start over again."

#### IMMIGRATION STILL A QUESTION OF PUBLIC POLICY

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's "directive" of last December regarding the reopening of immigration procedure in central Europe is very slowly being adopted. A few consular offices have been opened in the American zone in Germany, and plans for bringing over the nonquota and preference-quota classes are already in operation. Provision is also being made slowly for the quota groups.

In the meantime the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has been holding "hearings" in Washington on the bill (H.R. 3663) to restrict immigration still further. One section of this bill provides that for a period of ten years from July 1, 1945, the quota in the case of any nationality subject to quota provisions "shall be one-half of such quota, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100."

Only a few months ago the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization adopted a report saying that, "on the basis of hearings held," it seemed to be clear that there was "no widespread popular demand" for immediate drastic changes in the present immigration law, which is, of course, already severely restrictive. The committee said plainly that no such changes are now required. Finally, the committee recommended that "no general alteration of existing quotas or selective provisions, or detailed revision of any major area of the immigration laws, be undertaken until such time as a thorough study has been made."

In the past months, since the committee's earlier report was made, the refugee situation in Europe has become more acute, and a liberal immigration policy is what we

now need unless we are to turn our backs on one of our great national traditions—the right of asylum.

It is hoped that the House Committee will again go on record as at least opposed to further restriction. And is it too much to hope that some added provision for refugees may yet be made?

#### PROMOTION OF CHILD WELFARE IN THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

A BRIEF article in the *Department of State Bulletin* (March 17, 1946) by Elizabeth Shirley Enochs, director of the Inter-American Cooperation Unit of the United States Children's Bureau, describes the important child welfare developments in South America, with which the Children's Bureau has been so long concerned. Mrs. Enochs' statement is given as follows:

Since 1941 the organization chart of the Children's Bureau has included a special unit known as the Inter-American Cooperation Unit, through which a special staff of medical, nursing, nutrition, and social-service consultants gives advisory service, on request, to official maternal- and child-welfare agencies of the other American republics and which directs programs of study, observation, or in-service training for specialists in these fields who are brought to the United States from the countries to the south of us.

The association of the Children's Bureau and agencies of our sister republics had its genesis many years ago. At least as early as 1916 Julia C. Lathrop, the Bureau's first chief, made efforts to secure the representation of the United States at the First Pan American Child Congress, organized by a group of women physicians and social workers in Buenos Aires. Consultation service was given to many specialists from the southern republics who visited the Bureau headquarters in Washington. Miss Lathrop and her successor, Grace Abbott, conferred with many such specialists in Geneva in connection with the work of the Social Questions Section of the League of Nations. Correspondence and exchange of literature developed through the years, and attendance at the various Pan American Child Congresses furnished rare opportunity for cooperative planning for the children of the Western Hemisphere.



In 1928 the United States gave its formal adherence to the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, the official Pan-American child-welfare agency which had been established the previous year in Montevideo as the result of formal recommendations of various Pan American Child Congresses. Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, present Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, was appointed by the Department of State as the official representative of this country on the International Council of the Institute and has continued to serve in this capacity.

In 1937 the Children's Bureau of Brazil sent an official representative to Washington for several months to make a thorough study of the organization and functions of the Children's Bureau of the United States. In 1938 Miss Lenroot was honored by an invitation from the Government of Venezuela to attend the First Venezuelan Child Congress in Caracas as its special guest.

These are but a few examples of the type of cooperation carried on in the past, which provided a basis for the more formal program now directed by the Inter-American Cooperation Unit.

This formal program has its legal basis in two special acts of Congress, namely: Public Law 63, approved May 25, 1938 and amended May 3, 1939 (76th Cong.; 53 Stat. 652), authorizing the temporary detail of especially qualified United States employees on request to governments of the American republics, the Philippines, and Liberia, with all or part of the expenses being paid by the country desiring assistance; and Public Law 355 (76th Cong.; 53 Stat. 1290), which authorizes the President to utilize the services of the departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the Government in carrying out the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations signed by all of the 21 American republics at certain inter-American conferences.

As a result of this legislation an interdepartmental committee was organized to operate under the auspices of the Department of State. This committee is now known as the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation<sup>\*</sup> and is composed of representa-

tives of 26 Government departments and agencies. At the request of Congress the Department of State presents the budget estimates for the inter-American projects of all these agencies. The funds are then allocated to the various agencies by the Department of State from its appropriation.

Late in 1941 a congressional committee toured South and Central America on an official trip of examination of Federal activities, and on their return they reported as follows to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives:

The various projects that are being carried on, at a relatively modest cost, by representatives of numerous agencies of our Government may be regarded, generally, as efficacious and productive of results: For example, the Coast and Geodetic Survey is assisting certain governments in setting up technical and administrative machinery for prediction of tides, and for gravity surveys. The Children's Bureau is giving counsel in the matter of the progress that has been made in this country in the field of maternal and child health. . . . Groups of students and professors are being exchanged.

The words at a *relatively modest cost* might have been written with the Children's Bureau in mind, for the first allocation of funds from the Department of State for this Bureau totaled \$7,500. Since an official request had been received from the National Children's Agency of Brazil for consultation in connection with plans for the development of services for mothers and

Cooperation was created, at the suggestion of the President, early in 1938 as an instrument of the United States Government to undertake a permanent, cooperative program for the development of economic, cultural, and scientific relations and to coordinate the activities of departments and agencies of the Government, under the leadership of the Department of State, in undertaking cooperative projects in these fields in the Western Hemisphere. Until December 20, 1944, the Committee was known as the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics. The activities of the Committee are coordinated by the chairman of the Committee, the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of public and cultural relations, William Benton. The vice chairman of the Committee is the Director of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, William T. Stone; and the Executive Director is Raymond L. Zwemer. The Executive Director and members of the Secretariat are officers of the Department of State in the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs."

<sup>\*</sup> The State Department *Bulletin* contains the following explanatory statement: "The Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural

children in some of the States of that country, a pediatrician and a social worker were assigned to Rio de Janeiro to carry out the first co-operative project. This year finds the Children's Bureau again cooperating with its sister agency in Brazil through the assignment of a child-welfare worker, part of whose salary is being paid by the Brazilian Government under the provisions of Public Law 63.

The years since 1941 have found the staff of the Inter-American Unit cooperating with the Ministry of Health in Paraguay in the development of plans for a Department of the Child in that Ministry and in training professional staff for maternal- and child-health work; with the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Welfare of Colombia in studying the needs of dependent and delinquent children in that country; with the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Welfare of Bolivia in revising the Children's Code; and with the staff of the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, in Montevideo, in developing plans for advisory service in the field of social welfare. The interest of the American republics in training a professional staff for children's services has led to the assignment of several members of the Unit to cooperate in establishing or strengthening schools of social work or to cooperate in the training of nurses for maternal- and child-health agencies. During the year 1944 a pediatrician, a public-health nurse, a social worker, and a nutrition consultant were assigned to special co-operative projects in Peru. Cooperative undertakings are also under way in Ecuador, in connection with the establishment of a school of social work under official auspices, and in the Dominican Republic, where great progress is being made in the development of maternal- and child-health services.

In 1942 the Children's Bureau invited five specialists to the United States for brief periods of study and observation. In 1945 a group of eight fellows was invited for special training in maternal and child health and child welfare. All members of this group were on the staff of official agencies in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela.

The Appropriations Committee has stated its conviction that "the cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations unanimously adopted at the Buenos Aires and Lima Conferences, on which this program is based, are of a

very worthy and lasting nature and should be continued and in time expanded." It has likewise warned that "We must not make a one-way road out of the program," since "It is equally as important that we acquaint ourselves with the life, government, traditions, culture, and thought of our Latin American friends as it is for us to provide facilities for them to become acquainted with ours."

The State Department reports that during the fiscal year 1944 the governments in the other American republics contributed over a million dollars more to this program of the various cooperating Federal agencies than did the United States. However, the results of such a program cannot be measured alone in dollars and cents. The members of the staff of the Inter-American Unit who have been cooperating with the other American republics since 1941 have brought back to the Bureau a wealth of information and experience which is invaluable. On the other hand, one of the Bureau's Latin guests has expressed his opinion of the Bureau's program in the following unduly generous terms:

In this hour of world organization, I have more faith in the Children's Bureau and its international work for the benefit of the child in all places, than in Dumbarton Oaks or San Francisco. After all, the latter, in fact, depends upon a human factor, while the Children's Bureau works on the human factor itself, from its early roots, from its first hours of life.

#### THE DOCUMENTARY FILM

THE Museum of Modern Art Film Library<sup>1</sup> in New York has carried on a public service in making better known the importance of the documentary film as a means of public education. The Rockefeller Foundation made it possible for the Film

<sup>1</sup> At the Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53d Street, New York. A large collection of educational films available to schools and industries is described in a catalogue offered free by Castle Films, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza. The catalogue is reported to include a complete list of all United States government sound films and film strips.

"Over the Rainbow Bridge," showing the release of 923 refugees from the Emergency Shelter at Oswego and their resettlement throughout the country, is a new documentary sound film recently released by the National Refugee Service and now available without charge for meetings on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal and for educational purposes.

Library to undertake a careful study of the wartime documentary film something over a year ago; and, as a result, a valuable series of these films was assembled and has been exhibited daily, including Sundays and holidays, since the first of the year and is to continue into the summer or longer. In a pamphlet explaining and listing these films, it is pointed out that the documentary film has now had a history of a quarter of a century. "During the war years, it earned full recognition and demonstrated its usefulness" to a degree hitherto undreamed of; for films were very successfully used as part of the army training. The following paragraphs from the pamphlet referred to are of interest:

The training films so employed were of two distinct varieties. Straight instructional or "nuts and bolts" films taught the men what to do and how to do it. More complex "attitude building" pictures guided their behavior and thinking, extended their knowledge alike of the causes of the conflict and of its progress everywhere. . . .

It was not the armed services alone who were exposed extensively to non-fiction films during the war years. Tens of thousands of war workers, more tens of thousands of other civilians in the United States alone have regularly been seeing American, Canadian and English pictures of this type. Thus one half of a fighting world was vividly shown what the other half was doing: thus the crying needs and the historic events of the moment were effectively made clear to millions. Pearl Harbor, El Alamein, Remagen and Iwo Jima became as concrete and immediate as the drugstore counter: the significance of a B29 or a victory garden, blood transfusions and the U.N.O. were rammed home to the individual consciousness.

Meanwhile the American scene and way of life, the American contribution (hitherto and, but for this medium, even now so little understood abroad) were being made evident through other films sent out to audiences all over the globe. For the first time the native motion picture was fully functioning as a means whereby the average citizen could be kept aware of the social, political and global complexities of the world he inhabits. Now at last it was taking its place as the greatest potential force in adult education which our mechanical age has pro-

duced. That peacetime will no more see the abandonment of this instrument than it will of the aeroplane we may safely hazard.

Widely disseminated as documentary films have been, only a fraction of them were shown in movie theatres and then often but briefly. There remains therefore a vast segment of the public that has heard these films spoken about without being able to see them, and others who wished unavailingly for a chance to see for a second time pictures like the "Desert Victory" or "The True Glory."

An article on the "Challenge of the Documentary Film" in the *New York Times* "Magazine Section" (January 6, 1946) points out that it has taken us "fifty years to grasp and use fully the superb instrument" given to us in the motion picture. The Army, the Navy, and O.W.I. made extensive use of these films during the war. The *Times* article explains that while official photography from the battlefields supplied the raw material for the "Desert Victory," the film communicated something that went "far beyond a mere recording of the event." We are told that

still other documentaries are planned, written and produced exactly as narrative films except—and this is the great exception—that they concern themselves with fact and not with fiction, are about real and not imaginary people and events and are usually made in everyday locales with ordinary people instead of in a studio with actors.

At one time documentary films were thought of as little more than scenic views or nature-study records. But John Grierson, recently Canadian Government Film Commissioner, established in the early 1930's an English school of documentary films which attempted "to bring alive to the citizen the services of government and industry by dramatizing them in terms of human values."

American documentaries in the Museum of Modern Art showing have included "The Plow That Broke the Plains," which was produced by the Resettlement Administration, and which is described in their pamphlet as

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a dramatic exposition of the social and economic history of the Great Plains, from the settlement of the prairies by cattlemen and farmers through the World War boom to drought and depression, with an epilogue of the New Deal's effort to rehabilitate the Dust Bowl through soil conservation and resettlement. This famous film gave the initial impetus to the American documentary film movement, and established its director as an important film talent.

Another American documentary that has been shown by the Museum is "The River," which was produced by the Farm Security Administration and is described as

a panoramic story of the Mississippi River basin, of the vast industrial and agricultural expansion which led to its exploitation and ruin, and of the efforts now being made to control its floods by reforestation and the TVA. With a lyrical commentary now classic, this visualization of one of the most dramatic chapters in our history has come to be considered a masterpiece of the screen.

"The Land" has also been currently shown—a documentary produced by the Agricultural Adjustment Agency of the United States Department of Agriculture—and is described as

the story of American agriculture during the depression years—a story of eroded land deserted by its farmers, of the increase of share-cropping and migrant labor, and of the efforts of the Department of Agriculture to put the farmer back on the land and stabilize farm prices.

Another important documentary is "Power and the Land," produced by the Rural Electrification Administration and the Department of Agriculture and described as

the record of a day in the life of a U.S. farm, centering around the coming of electricity to rural districts and the human advantages it brings to farmers. Though the film argues for the setting up of cooperatives, it is chiefly an emotional impression of farm life, of planting and harvest, of family relationships, of love for the land. Its characters are an actual family in the Middle West.

Then there is "Valley Town," produced jointly by the Educational Film Institute

and Documentary Film Productions, Inc., which is a

study of technological unemployment, one of a series on the subject made for the Sloane Foundation, remarkable for its incomparable photography, its original music and for its daring (though perhaps not wholly effective) use of soliloquy, even of sung soliloquy. A tragic view of an American industrial city in depression, like its English companion piece, *Eastern Valley*, it offers a partial solution to the bitter problem it examines.

There is also the long and impressive series of wartime documents, including such films as "Swinging into Step," produced by the Army Pictorial Service—a training film

made with intelligent understanding of the psychological as well as the physical problems of soldiers who have undergone amputation, gives a detailed and encouraging account of their training and rehabilitation. An interview with Seversky, himself an amputee, closes this exceptionally interesting and unquestionably useful film.

Another film in this group is "Let There Be Light," a "study at close range of psychiatric procedure for psycho-neurotic soldiers."

The following is an account of some of the American wartime documentaries:

The Overseas Branch of the OWI was charged with providing films to be shown abroad which would represent the American way of life, and generally counteract enemy propaganda. Its films found a tone and tempo of their own. Since they were to be issued in many languages, the practice of shooting film silent then adding sound and voice was obligatory; it is a method which calls for careful balance and contrast between visuals and words and, therefore, for a clear story-line. Variety of treatment in successive films is also desirable. In all these respects, the OWI films have been successful: *The Jeep* was rightly quite different in tone from *Tuesday in November*, and both from *The Cummington Story*. There is also a pleasant unpretentiousness, candour and an impeccable veracity about these shorts.

Two other documentaries that have been shown at the Museum include "The City,"



produced for the American Institute of Planners through Civic Films, Inc.:

"The City" is a survey of the problem of planning community living in America. Three phases of city-building are dealt with: the New English township, centered round church, school, and store; the unplanned metropolis, with its by-products of slum and unnatural speed-up of daily routine; and the new decentralized community, planned for space and the segregation of work and play. The turmoil of the planless city and the spaciousness of the small planned community are contrasted.

And an English documentary that has also been made available, is "The Londoners," described as follows:

An elaborate reconstruction of 19th century London shows how the disorganization of city life finally impelled its citizens to create their own County Council and set to work to solve their problems. The work of modernizing police, fire, public health, education, and other services is linked to the directing activities of the Council itself, shown in session. *The Londoners* successfully dramatizes the part played by the individual citizen in creating the multitudinous services which make city life livable.

Ernestine Evans, recently with O.W.I., has pointed out that people are "interested in working conditions all over the globe, in health, housing, child welfare, nutrition, co-operatives, and all the amenities of the workers' leisure." If England, she explains, represents, let us say,

the highest standard of safety in mines, let us make a film record of it for all the mining nations to see and let it pass out to the world through an agency like the I.L.O. If Sweden has the best system of hospital service, or New Zealand the highest standard of pre-natal care, or France the best service of medical information to farmers, let the record of them go out to all the other countries for their consideration and benefit. Let us encourage the various countries to produce those film records which by their example will best contribute to the common cause.

What people like John Grierson and Ernestine Evans have been advocating is that we accept the film as a great educa-

tional instrument that can and should be used for the benefit of the people everywhere. Mr. Grierson has well said that sooner or later educational processes must come down to earth, and it must be very local earth:

We have the instruments and we are slowly acquiring the techniques of mass information and mass education, even when they concern the difficult and complex fields of international relationship.

Basically, the ends that different countries seek are simple ends, and they are identical ends. In spite of all the talk of ethical and cultural differences which now beclouds the sky, the ends men seek are identical and simple and concrete, whether they come black, white or yellow. They concern food and health and housing and the other highly visible evidences of the good life. . . . In this progressive struggle for welfare which is actual, we all need the example of other countries, the example of other peoples' genius, other peoples' ingenuity and other peoples' good fortune. This example of others is a weapon in our hands, wherever we may be, with which to intensify the educational efforts in our own hands. . . .

The bonds of human interest are international, on every level, from stamp collection to learned societies. There is an international interest in medicine and town planning and agricultural research, and in each of the thousand and one specialised fields of human effort. . . . The trouble is that we have organized the people brilliantly in their moods of relaxation. We have organized them in the movies and the dope sheets of the sensational press and the dance halls of the nations. But we have not . . . organized the people in their moods of resolution. We have not . . . sufficiently fed them in the terms of their constructive and creative interests. . . .

One of the great discoveries in the history of film was the simple discovery that there is more seating capacity outside the film theatres than there is inside them. It is today exercising a revolutionary influence on film development. Those of us who are dealing seriously with films as an instrument of public education no longer think of the theatres as providing our principal platform. We are going out into the highways and the byways, not organizing peoples' interest in entertainment, but organizing

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their interest in their work and in their citizenship.

Speaking for Canada, we are today building this audience outside the theatres on an intensive and even scientific scale. . . . We have libraries of films all over the country, available to every social, educational, professional and service group which either wants them or can be persuaded to want them. We have voluntary projection services, organized in the big towns to provide projection. They are trained by the Government and give their services as a private contribution to the community welfare. We have travelling theatres, maintained by Federal and Provincial authorities, trade unions, co-operatives and national associations. They move from village to village and town to town, on schedule. Some of them play the rural schools and the village halls, and address rural audiences in terms of the special interests which rural audiences have. Others move from town to town, playing the factories, in and out of working hours. Presently, we hope to develop other such specialized services to women's groups and others, and we look forward to the building of community halls throughout the nation in which projection services are an essential part of the life of every community.

We find these audiences very practical in their demands. We do not get the picture of a public bent to the last button on entertainment and escape. On the other hand, the picture which comes to us is of a people who are hungry for a knowledge of the future, for a chance to understand what is in the making, and how they can best participate in it; not only as to its benefits, but as to its duties. Discussion clubs and forums have grown up spontaneously with our film showings, particularly among the rural groups. They demand their own teaching notes, their own discussion notes and their own specialised journals of information. The people as we know them want film materials which will help them in their actual and present citizenship: films about farming and farming research, about housing and community halls, about credit unions and cooperatives, about a world which is organically related to their own interests and their own functions within the nation.

Mr. Grierson has emphasized the importance of the documentary film in the service of peace:

Anyway, I am going to say that if we are to develop international cooperation we have got

to develop education in internationalism, and that it begins on the local doorstep. The people want to know what the fancy notions mean in terms of the homes they will live in, the bread they will eat, and the families they will raise, and if I may add one humble opinion to the humble opinion of millions, they are right.

Finally, John Grierson says that the film can reach and has before it

millions of people all over the world, ready to learn from it, take inspiration from it, and back their inspiration with action. It is the easiest thing in the world to organise these audiences for our purposes, for you will be meeting a natural demand. It is perhaps not the easiest thing in the world to translate the stubborn and sometimes grim problems of our industrial civilization into the terms of interest and inspiration; but for the past fifteen years we have been progressively learning to do it and we have been teaching a whole host of young film makers to be interested in nothing else. . . . The story of documentary film development—that is to say, of films in the active and progressive service of society—is not a national development but an international one. But if the documentary film is an international development, it is for the simple reason that we have felt the needs of our time in common and have sought to build an education technique which in common will help to fulfill them.

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AN AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

ON THE whole, it is reassuring to have a statement from the United States Children's Bureau showing only a slight increase in the case load of the juvenile courts for 1945, as compared with 1944. However, over the war years, the number of boys and girls dealt with by the courts increased very greatly with a wartime rise of 67 per cent in the number of cases disposed of in the years from 1938 through 1945. Their recent statement is based on the experience of fifty-six juvenile courts in urban areas throughout the country which reported to the Children's Bureau.

The major part of the increase in the courts' case load occurred in the early years of the war, the Bureau points out, the trend

having been actually reversed in 1944. "That the figures have turned upward again may therefore be of added significance in view of that temporary check in the wartime rise." The decline in the number of girls' cases, noted first in 1944, continued in 1945; but over the war period the records show a relatively larger increase in girls' cases than in those for boys, the percentages being, respectively, 79 per cent and 65 per cent. Girls' cases still account for only one-fifth of the total.

The Bureau believes that although "juvenile court statistics have admittedly serious limitations as a measure of juvenile delinquency," nevertheless, even after the necessary allowances are made, "we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the war has left this country with a greatly increased problem of juvenile delinquency."

While warning us against an alarmist view of the finding, it is pointed out that "such increases do not necessarily mean a corresponding increase in the number of juvenile offenders. On the contrary, the rise may mean that the community is more aware of what is happening to its young people and is resorting more to the courts for help than in previous years." The Bureau further points out that the personal factor must also be taken into account, "for what one person may consider delinquent behavior needing court action is passed off by another as of little consequence. A change in court jurisdiction sometimes accounts for a sharp rise, as, for instance, when the age limit is raised from sixteen to eighteen years." Moreover, the range of offenses is wide, from riding a bicycle on the sidewalk to the theft of an auto or something even more serious. "Population changes such as occurred in the war years are another large factor that must be taken into account."

The fact remains, though, that "the courts today have a heavier case load, and that means that more boys and girls are in difficulty with the law." The findings also show that more community services are

needed if many of these children are to be kept out of the courts.

That is, a community-wide effort is called for in order to get help to these children before they get into trouble, "not a punitive attitude toward them and their parents nor a lot of blame-placing after the fact." The kind of home the youngster comes from, the school situation against which he is rebelling, the community's deficiencies in terms of his needs, these should be matters of community concern much earlier than they are, "for something can often be done, if done in time, about a situation that leads to delinquent behavior."

As a hopeful development, it may be pointed out that within the past few years many communities and states have established youth commissions and similar planning and co-ordinating bodies for a "broad approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency." Federal aid is also being sought to enable states and communities to increase their services to children and youth. The National Commission on Children in Wartime has asked for a federal appropriation very much larger than that now provided for child welfare services under the Social Security Act, which is still only \$1,510,000 a year in federal aid for the entire country. The funds would be used, the Commission proposes, for the extension of services of child welfare workers until such service is available in every community in the United States. Now only one-sixth of the counties have full-time paid workers giving services to children. Funds should also be available for day-care services for children whose mothers are employed, for temporary care of delinquent children, and for expansion of foster-home programs.

These specific proposals, the Bureau points out, must be fitted into a larger plan that would deal with the sources of juvenile delinquency through strengthening the home, the school, and the community so that they are better able to provide the care, affection, training, and protection that children need.

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## HOUSING A MAJOR PROBLEM

IN THE leading article in the *Progressive*, April 22, 1946, Senator La Follette calls housing for veterans the number one job in America today. He says it is a "big job that requires immediate action—not words, alibis, or explanations." The senator points out that men "returning from the hell of war are in no mood to accept, and should not be required to accept, any variety of civilian fox-holes—the converted garage, chicken-coops, and other disreputable dwelling places which have been featured in the press in dramatizing the severe housing shortage existing throughout the country." The veteran, the senator said, "was assigned a near-impossible job on the battlefield. He did it. Now it should be turn-about for his benefit, by Government, the building industry, and our entire economy." We quote further from the La Follette article:

This is one problem where the solution is obvious. Everyone agrees to the policy: "Build as many houses and dwelling units during the next few years as our economy is capable of building! Cut all the redtape and the financial and economic hindrances to actual construction!"

Putting this policy into effect is 99 per cent of the job. In broad legislative strokes Congress is signing approval. Tremendous powers are being delegated to the executive branch of the Government insofar as the emergency housing program is concerned. Whether or not we get housing on the scale we want it—whether or not the plans are drafted, the materials supplied, the lumber cut, the bricks laid, the concrete poured—will depend squarely now on those who are designated to administer the program.

Congress has been working to give us an over-all housing program including "a long-range program as well as one to meet the emergency needs." The La Follette article points out that according to the best estimates it will take an investment of at least \$70,000,000,000 in the next ten years, estimating conservatively new requirements and minimum housing repairs. We ought to build "more than 12,000,000 housing units in the next 10 years to catch up on accumulated demands." Among the important new

programs there is first the Wyatt plan, which

hopes to accelerate home building by placing emphasis on (1) channeling construction into proper channels (by use of emergency powers delegated by Congress, less-essential construction would be retarded in favor of home-building); (2) providing a greater supply of building materials (the Wyatt program proposes to use price adjustments but also places great reliance in premium payments to bring forth additional production of building materials); (3) getting prefabricated housing into mass production (the Senate approved provisions which will guarantee a minimum mass market for the prefabricators); (4) obtaining the consent of states and localities in revising obsolete building codes which hamper new types of construction; and (5) obtaining the cooperation of the building industry to insure an adequate managerial and labor supply.

Senator La Follette also emphasizes the importance of two other housing programs which have been under consideration in the Senate but which have been given less attention in the press than the Wyatt program. He thinks that "in many respects these programs are more important than the Wyatt program." The La Follette article describes one of these bills as

the extension and expansion of the emergency relocation program begun last December under the so-called Mead Resolution—the program of moving surplus army, navy, and war-housing facilities to areas where veterans' housing is most urgent. Colleges and universities, as well as many communities hard pressed for housing, are making good use of these facilities.

Congress has appropriated nearly \$450,000,000 for this general purpose.

Another of the important projects is the long-range housing program, which the Senate passed in April, the Wagner-Taft-Ellender Bill, a comprehensive measure on all phases of the housing problem. The following statement is from the La Follette article:

Primarily, the bill is concerned with various governmental financial arrangements that will encourage and enable the construction industry to get together with those desiring housing.

This bill would strengthen and liberalize the operations of the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal Home Loan Bank system. It provides for the consolidation of national housing agencies, gives financial aid to local communities for participating in housing research and planning, and makes provision for the land assembly purchases for slum clearance.

The Wagner-Taft-Ellender bill deals with the long-neglected problems of rural housing, sets up a new system of "yield insurance" whereby it is hoped to encourage insurance companies and fiduciary institutions to make large investments in housing. By other provisions it seeks to lower the costs of good housing and to obtain the economies of mass production.

In addition, the bill had provisions for subsidized low rent housing for a limited number of families in the very lowest income classes.

The bill contemplates about 12,000,000 new homes in the next 10 years: about 6,000,000 to meet accumulated requirements, and 6,000,000 to replace obsolete dwellings. About 10 per cent of the total program in the next four years is proposed to be in the category of subsidized low-rent housing. In other words, about 125,000 units per year.

Senator La Follette says emphatically that this is "a rock-bottom minimum as a national housing program. Housing is a national responsibility that must be adequately recognized." That is, the government must be responsible "for setting a minimum standard for housing, just as it does for health and subsistence." If this is not done, there will be heavy social costs that will appear in reduced national income, direct public assistance, and the attendant costs of crime—all of which are associated with housing neglect. In addition, "overcrowded housing is a direct menace to national health."

Solving the housing problem is said to be in the long run largely a question of economics and finance. Senator La Follette is right in believing that we need housing and that "we have the ability to build." But we must find "a way of building homes that are good enough and cheap enough so that prospective buyers and renters can afford them. At the same time, contractors, laborers, and suppliers of building materials must

have prices adequate to keep supplies rolling and houses built." Some further important statements from the La Follette article are the following:

The present emergency situation requires aggressive action to break the bottlenecks of supply, just as we did in war when we surprised the world, and even ourselves, with our rapid expansion of war production and industries.

The construction industry has been insisting—not without some justification—that bureaucratic bungling is hampering new construction, especially with regard to pricing policies on certain building materials.

Congress cannot administer production and pricing programs; effective legislation cannot be written which will take the place of rules and regulations which an administrator must issue periodically. But Congress can insist on the prompt handling of complaints and should insist on reviewing from time to time any major matters of administration.

#### IN MEMORIAM

AMELIA SEARS, 1872-1946

WELL known in social work over a long period of years, Amelia Sears had a wide circle of friends. After she left Mount Holyoke College, she taught for a short time in Chicago but she soon became interested in social work and joined the staff of the old Chicago Bureau of Charities, when Ernest Bicknell was its general superintendent. She later became district superintendent of Chicago's "West Side District," which was then a great area including the Hull-House territory and the deteriorated "river wards." She soon became a well-known and well-liked figure in the developing welfare organization of the city. With a remarkable gift of humor, she seemed to remain gay and cheerful when faced with the most difficult social problems and even with social tragedies. She was a well-known figure at the National Conference of Social Work, at A.A.S.W. meetings, among the older C.O.S. groups, and the later case-work groups. Large numbers of social service students were trained in her West Side District Office in the early days, and she helped in the organization of case-work teaching, for

which her small pioneer volume *The Charity Visitor* was a textbook in the Chicago School of Civics and in the earlier days in the University of Chicago. She was generous with her time and was a "lecturer" whom the students liked both at the old school and at the University.

Amelia Sears held various positions of importance—public and private. She was at one time superintendent of the Juvenile Protective Association, and later she was Civic Director of the Woman's City Club. But she returned to the United Charities of Chicago, with which she was so long associated, as assistant general superintendent from 1919 to 1930.

She was active in the organization of the Chicago Chapter of the A.A.S.W. and was president of the chapter in 1927. She was also a pioneer member of the Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, and the League for Industrial Democracy.

Amelia Sears was a real crusader in behalf of justice and equity for the Negro group. She was identified with the Chicago Urban League and was for some time its president, and she encouraged the use of Negro social workers and Negro office workers in social agencies.

#### ELSA REINHARDT, 1896-1946

ELSA REINHARDT always seemed to belong to Chicago in a very special way. She was born here; she had always lived here; she attended the Chicago schools, then the University of Chicago; and she had always worked here. She held both the baccalaureate and A.M. degrees from the University; and when she first left the School of Social Service in 1923, she became a member of the staff of the United Charities, and for the next twenty-three years she gave continu-

ously loyal and devoted service both to the United Charities and to the University, where she served as a part-time member of the faculty. She was keenly interested in the problem of field work for social service students and very helpful about the School's field-work plans. And she was an excellent teacher of case work in the University classroom and in her office. She was a district superintendent in the United Charities, where she was respected and trusted by clients and board members alike. Her great South Side District of the Charities had become increasingly a Negro area, but to Elsa Reinhardt this created no difficulties. She believed so sincerely in equal rights—equal opportunities and a fair chance for everyone—that there could never be a color line of any kind in her life. As the members of her staff became almost entirely Negro social workers and Negro office staff, she welcomed them and liked working with them, and they knew she worked for them. She was a hardworking member of the Negro community—she served on their committees, worked with their organizations—and they trusted her as they knew she trusted them. The finest kind of democracy could be found in Elsa Reinhardt's office.

She was very attractive and charming in appearance and manner, and she was also fair and honest in her judgments of people and their difficulties. Everyone liked Elsa Reinhardt—her friends and colleagues at the University of Chicago, her office staff, her fellow-workers, representatives of other agencies. And everyone respected her, her capacity for hard work, her tireless interest in people in trouble, her belief in equity and justice for all, her frank and honest and straightforward ability to see both sides of a question and to give a fair hearing to both sides with a rare disinterestedness. She was too young to go.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### SOCIAL APPROACH TO PEACE

With the appointment of Miss Zoë Puxley<sup>1</sup> as Welfare Attaché to the British Embassy in Paris, a valuable contribution has been made by Britain to the social approach to peace. It is generally recognized by all thinking people that the creation of a machine is only the beginning of the United Nations Organization.

In his speech of welcome to the delegates for the first meeting in London, Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, laid emphasis on the fact that for complete success there must be real contact not only at government level but between the ordinary people of the nations of the world. These were the views of wisdom, and they undoubtedly found an understanding echo in many hearts.

The sentiment, of course, is no new one. It has been stated and restated in all sincerity many times, but somehow the achievement has been lacking. It is true there have been many links—some sponsored officially by interested governments. Many more semiofficial contacts have been organized, and, of course, innumerable voluntary bodies have had international organizations. Those with knowledge of the co-operation and the friendly relationships which were established have great faith in further achievement with an expansion of those channels of communication.

### CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD

There was, however, a vital urge to greater accomplishment in the future in Mr. Attlee's words. They were a challenge to the people of the world. However admirable the United Nations Organization may be, its final success or failure depends on the ordinary man and woman.

There is at present a very popular phrase in Britain, "so where do we go from here?" It is a pertinent as well as a descriptive sentence. How

<sup>1</sup> [EDITORIAL NOTE.—Miss Puxley, a long-time British Civil Servant, formerly in the British Ministry of Health, is well known in America and has lectured here in different parts of the country.

The writer of this letter was for many years a British Member of Parliament representing Wallsend-on-Tyne.]

to include effectively the individual of the world in "man to man" international co-operation is a gigantic problem, but it is certain that there must be a positive, and not only a negative, appeal if there is to be success.

What is, therefore, the greatest common interest between individuals, outside the maintenance of peace? Surely, it is steady progress toward the attainment of the highest possible standard of living and all that that implies—in fact, the bond of one of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. There may be political conflict between country and country or between individuals and nations as to how this may be brought about, but beyond dispute the goal provides a common factor.

The ultimate conception in itself is not static. Science, medicine, communications, industrial research, and educational knowledge continually provide new standards as well as methods of achievement. Hence the task can never be finished as there will always be a new goal.

In every country, in the sphere of human endeavor, there are men and women passionately devoting their energies to using what knowledge is available for the benefit of their countrymen. Here, surely, is the important international interest which can be taken advantage of to forge the links of friendship.

By general consent the Health and Social Questions committees of the League of Nations and their work were its most successful contribution. This was in no small measure due to the fact that the delegates serving on those committees were concerned with humanitarian and social matters and not with the politics of their respective countries. Sitting as an official member of the Social Questions Committee, one realized that each country had some specialized knowledge on perhaps one or more problems to impart for the benefit of all. Health, neglected and delinquent children, prostitution, the penal code, or the suppression of the opium trade—all these were matters of vital importance; and the interchange of opinion and the different methods of approach to the same problem stimulated interest and a close scrutiny of the methods of one's own country to solve them.

## RESULTS OF INDIVIDUAL CRUSADERS

But though the work of those committees is a thing of the past, something of value remains. The knowledge that on social problems, which in the main are common to all communities, unique experience, peculiar perhaps to one country as a result of experiment, may be an invaluable guide to another. History shows that social legislation is so often the result of individual crusading. This initiative produces a public opinion and accounts for advanced development in the treatment of one particular social need in one country rather than in another. Britain, for instance, has always acknowledged the inspiration of Lord Shaftesbury in the introduction of factory legislation, Elizabeth Fry in prison reform, and Florence Nightingale in the organization of the nursing services.

A more recent example is the influence on public opinion of the late Eleanor Rathbone's crusade in favor of family allowances. She was for many years Member of Parliament for the Combined Universities and lived to see her project become law. The most cursory examination of the social structure of individual nations will show how widely they vary and what room there is for exchange of experience. In addition, of course, there are the immense problems arising out of the war, particularly in countries which have been occupied by the enemy or over which battles have raged. At any rate, there is no country without a problem and no country where the citizens are not keenly desirous to find the right solution.

So, what a field for individual and collective co-operation! The question really is, How are we to proceed? Every country has something to give and every country has something to learn.

## SPECIALIST'S BUSINESS

Interchange of information and the giving and taking of advice are undoubtedly a specialist's business; and, if the whole field of social requirements is to be covered, the work must be efficiently canalized.

Britain has just carried out an interesting experiment which bears closely on this whole question of the linking of the individual through the instrument of the human problem. Our Foreign Office appointed to the British Embassy in Paris Miss Zoë Puxley as Welfare Attaché with the rank of Counsellor. It is true that this appointment was for a limited period and, as I have said, of an experimental character, but it was of great significance.

Miss Puxley was a high-ranking permanent Civil Servant from Britain's Ministry of Health. She was, in fact, the first woman to be placed in 1918 in the Administrative Grade or Upper Division and was made a Principal in 1921. Women, of course, only obtained the right to compete in the examination for the Home Civil Service in 1925. It is interesting to comment that at present a government committee is examining the question of allowing women to compete for entry into the Foreign Service, and the report is expected very shortly.

Under the British system a senior Civil Servant in one department of state, though possibly specializing in one or two main directions, has opportunities of gaining wide and valuable experience over a very varied field. Miss Puxley, who reached the rank of Assistant-Secretary, is no exception. For instance, for eight years she was Principal of the Public Assistance Division of the Ministry of Health before turning her attention to matters of maternity and child welfare. In this capacity she helped to build up the framework of the present services, which have stood Britain in such good stead during World War II. In spite of adverse material and spiritual conditions for mothers, maternity and child mortality has continued to fall, and the vital statistics for mothers and children have broken record after record in each successive year of the war.

It was, of course, the policy of the Coalition Government that during the years of acute food shortage nursing and expectant mothers and young children should have priority treatment. There is no doubt that the activities of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centers—an integral part of our social service system—and the compulsory school milk scheme have been invaluable. Never has there been such noticeable public comment on the beauty and sturdiness of British babies!

Miss Puxley was also called upon to establish a Civil Nursing Reserve in 1939, before the outbreak of World War II, with the idea of supplementing the nursing services. Later she was put in administrative charge of the Nursing Division set up in the Ministry of Health.

Another problem, shared by many of our Allies, which has increased during the war years, handled by Miss Puxley, is that of the unmarried mother and her child. Miss Puxley is, in addition to her Civil Service experience, widely traveled and among other activities has represented the Ministry of Health at Geneva on the

Social Questions Committee and in America and Canada, where she made an official visit in 1937.

#### FRENCH SOCIAL WORKERS

So far as her recent appointment was concerned, pioneering was no new work to Miss Puxley, who had done so much in her early days in the Civil Service. As Welfare Attaché she covered an immense field and visited every kind of French activity both municipal and voluntary—garden cities, schools of housewifery, rehabilitation centers for abnormal children, training schools for nurses, school medical service, and social workers. She made contact with social workers all over France besides spending many days in the children's courts.

Her work of liaison with the French medical services and ours was carried out with all the tact and genuine concern for the welfare of people which has been a feature of all her work.

While attached to the British Embassy she arranged for visits to Britain by French doctors and officials concerned with maternity and child welfare, and, in part, she showed them round the services which she knew so well. The scope of her activities was enormous, and her contacts far exceeded those ever attempted normally by an Embassy.

The appointment of a woman of Miss Puxley's position and caliber with such high rank in the Diplomatic Service is the measure that the Foreign Office attached to its experiment. If extended, it may indeed provide a basis on which to build international co-operation through the medium of social service interests. At any rate, if Mr. Attlee's words are to become a reality, here is almost virgin ground which might yield incalculable results.

IRENE WARD, C.B.E.

LONDON, ENGLAND

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Principles of Social Case Recording.* By GORDON HAMILTON. Published for the New York School of Social Work by Columbia University Press, New York, 1946. Pp. ix+142. \$2.00.

For a variety of reasons case recording remains a *bête noire* for most case workers. Records are uncompromising and unflattering canvasses of one's action and thinking. The purposeless act, the mouthed error, the blatant failure of effort seem caught and fixed therein; the life energy, the warmth of feeling, the subtle forward movement seem wan and stilted. Beyond this subjective involvement, however, is the objective and constant problem of the need to define the purpose for which each case record is written and then to develop the structure and form which best will carry that purpose. It is this problem that Gordon Hamilton tackles in her new volume *Principles of Social Case Recording*, and it is in relation to this aspect of the recording problem that this book will prove most helpful to the case worker and to the supervisor struggling with problems of learning, teaching, and improving recording.

In her Preface Miss Hamilton differentiates this new volume from her first book, *Social Case Recording* in terms of her conviction, now, that the basic principles of recording can be formulated to stand the tests of time and changing case-work practice. Her Table of Contents itself serves to present the principle of the interrelationship between purpose and form. For example, chapter iii is headed "The Recording Style Should Suit the Case Material"; chapter iv, "Narrative is a Good Style for Reporting Facts"; chapter v, "The Summary is a Good Device for Organizing and Analyzing Facts"; and so on. Throughout the volume is reiterated the major principle that content, style, and form of records grows not out of literary artifice or technical fashion but out of the nature and purpose of the case-work practice itself. Recording of diagnosis and evaluation is shown to be the setting down of the thinking and judgment which must both precede and follow case-work treatment. The differences in recording created by different functions, structures, and poli-

cies among agencies are discussed as adaptations of record forms to special case-work practice. Pertinent and fresh-from-practice samples of recording illuminate the text.

Miss Hamilton is not a compiler. Hers is an imaginative mind, ranging over case work and acutely aware of the two-way interaction between its practice and its recording. It is the case-work implications which push up between the lines which makes this book, like Miss Hamilton's other writing, stimulating to one's thinking and, at times, provocative of difference. There slip into the text, for example, several challenges to the "functional approach" which might prove more confusing than enlightening, particularly since, by Miss Hamilton's own testimony, basic recording principles hold regardless of what philosophy or psychology underlies the case-work practice. Again, thinking of the relation between practice and recording, one may question whether Miss Hamilton has given "process" recording its due consideration. Surely "process" is (or perhaps one must say "should be") different from verbatim recording, and more than "a good medium when attention should be directed to attitudes, behavior, motivation." Miss Hamilton does say that it is "used to show the process or interaction within the interview" but perhaps this is not emphasized enough. The vital necessity in case work to formulate principles of treatment will only be met when the process of such interaction between worker and client as yields movement is recorded. And then analyzed. But the interaction between worker and client needs recording not primarily better to understand the client but rather to detect and evaluate the dynamics of helping him. Research as to the results of case work—that purpose which our current records serve so badly—must wait on the competent record of those processes of action and change which are stimulated and given continuity by the case worker.

Aside from Miss Hamilton's articulation and illustration of those basic principles that underlie case recording, the main difference between *Principles of Social Case Recording* and its predecessor, *Social Case Recording*, lies in its

form. Much of its content appeared in the earlier volume, but it has been pruned carefully of extraneous material, and such additions as appear have been grafted on skilfully. The theme of every chapter is stated in the chapter heading, content conforms to a precise outline, and there is a succinct summary at each chapter's end. Whether by design or accident the book in this new form parallels what Miss Hamilton points out as the trend in recording itself—" . . . today, summary, selection, diagnosis and evaluation are receiving most attention, as might be expected with professional growth and the deepening and control of professional thinking." Miss Hamilton has selected, summarized, appraised, and produced a firmly knit little volume. The reader will wish that good recording could be learned by imitation; but since it cannot, this book will prove useful to his creative labors.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

*University of Chicago*

*The Origin and Development of Group Hospitalization in the United States, 1890-1940.* By J. T. RICHARDSON. ("University of Missouri Studies," Vol. XX, No. 3.) Columbia, 1945. Pp. 102. \$1.25.

This study is timely because of the vital interest of many groups and individuals in comprehensive plans that will make adequate medical care available to everyone throughout the country. The legislative proposals now before Congress for the provision of medical and health services and for hospital construction, the findings of the Commission on Hospital Care, and various suggested plans to provide medical care make it important that students in the field of health and welfare be informed with regard to currently accepted methods for meeting expenses associated with illness. The author discusses primarily the Blue Cross Plans which are "actuarially sound," have "satisfactory legal recognition," and are generally acceptable both to subscribers and to the medical profession.

The author has drawn his material from many sources and sketches the development of the group hospitalization movement, which was accelerated because of the depression, when more persons than ever before were unable to pay for medical care; when the income of the voluntary hospitals from endowments and con-

tributions was decreased by about two-thirds of their usual amount, and the charity load increased almost fourfold. The author shows the shift for skepticism if not outspoken disapproval of plans for group hospitalization by such organizations as the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, and the College of Surgeons to the acceptance of the idea and the creation of the Hospital Service Plan Commission by the American Hospital Association in January, 1937. The Council on Blue Cross Hospital Plans was established the following year. These plans are developed on principles and experience drawn from the operation of the Baylor Plan in Dallas, although the Rockford, Grinnell, and Brattleboro programs which preceded have significance. Developments under the Council have been consistent and sound with benefits under Blue Cross Plans being liberalized over the years.

Certain conclusions drawn from the study do not minimize the value of the Blue Cross Plans but indicate how restricted a portion of the public can benefit from them. "The facilities principally offered are for hospitalization in private and semi-private rooms, seldom for beds in wards, and the premium rates are accordingly too high for the lower-income segment of the population. As a rule the Plans are confined to large cities, pointing to a risk that unless care is taken no adequate geographical coverage will be achieved."

Other conclusions of significance are that "group hospitalization has been well received by members of the medical profession, and the Blue Cross Plans do not interfere in physician-patient relationships." This evidence has particular relevance to arguments now being presented in opposition to certain proposals for making medical care generally available.

RUTH EMERSON

*University of Chicago*

*Local Health Units for the Nation.* By HAVEN EMERSON, M.D., with collaboration of MARTHA LUGINBUHL. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. vii+333. \$1.25, paper.

This comprehensive study of the local health facilities in every state in the Union, made by Dr. Haven Emerson, and the conclusions of the national committee, should be of incalculable



value to all persons interested in the health and welfare of their home town and of the nation as a whole.

The report provides a narrative statement in relation to each state and tables showing the present distribution of local health facilities and proposed reorganization.

There are 18,000 local health units in counties, cities, towns, and villages; 40 million people still lack any full-time health service. Units of population of 50,000 at a cost of one dollar per capita could provide such needed service in an "all-over" program for the country through 1,200 district units and at lessened cost. Present actual costs of local units by states are tabulated, and the suggested reorganization with costs estimated is provided.

Data are also tabulated as to per capita income, spendable income, hospital beds, practicing physicians, population of area, assessed property valuation, etc.

This book should be available for consultation by the interested citizen in every public library and available to those engaged in public and private health service in their own offices.

ELLEN C. POTTER, M.D.

*Director of Medicine  
New Jersey Department Institutions  
and Agencies*

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*Voluntary Health Agencies: An Interpretive Study.* By SELSKAR M. GUNN and PHILIP S. PLATT. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1945. Pp. xvii+364. \$3.00.

The National Health Council, in sponsoring this comprehensive and courageous survey of voluntary health agencies in the United States, has rendered a service of inestimable value not only to workers and teachers in the health field but to those citizens who actively support the programs of such agencies by their financial contributions and their public-spirited efforts. In its admirably concise appraisal of the influences motivating the myriad health programs operating in this country, the survey gives a valid and objective analysis of the factors of philanthropic interest, community need, and scientific advances which singly or in combination have inspired the creation and development of a wide range and variety of voluntary

health services. The pressures of individual interest or eccentricity, of competitive jealousies or of distorted evaluations of need are also seen in their bearing on the uneven and unbalanced concentration of money and activity in the program of one agency or one area of service in a community.

As an informed as well as penetrating analysis of the whole movement for voluntary health services in this country this survey will be a constant source of factual guidance in a highly confused and little understood aspect of community service. Its greater value, however, lies in its courageous approach to the emotional, sentimentalized, and frequently misdirected efforts of many expensively planned and disproportionately financed programs. The writers and sponsors of this survey are to be commended for their frankness in exposing both the sound and the unsound motivations for voluntary health effort and for their refusal to ignore the waste, inefficiency, duplications of service, and actual selfishness inherent in unco-ordinated planning and competitive vying for public interest and support. Throughout the survey, in each type of program examined, and notably in its injunctions for the future, this appraisal constantly stresses the waste of a nonunified, uneven, and self-interested approach to the public. The conclusion is inescapable that in the voluntary health programs, as in public health activities, there must be a single agency planning and directing the health interests of the community as a whole; and one can only hope that this well-informed document will guide the thinking and effort of persons responsible for formulating community service programs and administering community funds.

DORA GOLDSTINE

*University of Chicago*

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*Women as Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Realities.* By MARY R. BEARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. Pp. viii+369. \$3.50.

Among the commentators on current events and present-day tendencies, no one is closer to the stream of human experience than Mary Beard. Herself a scholar, the wife of Charles A. Beard, a scholar and likewise a democrat, they have together shared the pursuit after knowledge not only such as is contained in the

records of history but in the development of institutions under different conditions and among different national and racial groups.

It is now a quarter of a century—after almost a hundred years of effort on the part of organized women—since the federal amendment giving the women of the United States the right to vote became effective, and women are found in government positions both federal and state in the United States; they have in other lands proved their capacity and been admitted to high places in the government.

In a way, it might almost be said that since they have held and hold high official office, they are, as it were, taken for granted. Mrs. Beard does not, however, want the subject left like that. She wants to recall the long road by which they have reached their present status. To do this she leads the reader over the road by which they have come, and especially the progress since the first World War. Mrs. Beard lays stress at an early point on the "significance given the future of man-woman relationships by the mounting preponderance of women over men in Europe and the United States as measured by numbers"—eight to ten million more in Soviet Russia, three million more in Great Britain, five to three million more in Germany, and something like a million more in the United States.

In the days when women were struggling to obtain the right to vote, there were those who foretold a millenium as the result of their being granted the franchise. To the objective observer this never seemed a valid claim, and the argument that seemed sound was the right of the community or state or nation to benefit by the full expression of their will and desires and intelligence.

This presentation of Mrs. Beard's views contains thirteen chapters together with a Preface and an "Illustrative Bibliography" of 26 pages and an Index of 10 pages. Besides these aids to intelligent appreciation of the material, she gives generous acknowledgments of indebtedness to a wide range of sources.

This is by no means Mrs. Beard's first discussion of the parts played by women or of the women who have played those roles in the progress or advancement of the human race. It is fifteen years since she published her interesting statement of the problem of *Understanding Women*. This was arranged in six parts, of which

the topics were "The Symphony of Life"; "The Origin of Our Physical Comforts"; "The Rise of Intellectualism"; "The Great Precedent of Acquisitive Power and Pomp"; "Derivatives from the Age of the Gods"; and "The Conquest of the Earth," the final paragraphs being devoted to universal democracy, the Industrial Revolution, and a summary statement.

In this later statement she shows the same powers of observation and interpretation as in the earlier publication and lets herself occupy a wider area of presentation and at the same time she asks the reader to enter with her not only the field of explanation but likewise the fields of legislation and judicial interpretation. This requires, since she does not limit her discussion to the common subjects of property rights or domestic discord, that she include a wide range of judicial, and especially equitable, jurisdictions.

It is a privilege to share the results of her experience and her thinking.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

*University of Chicago*

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*Negro Labor: A National Problem.* By ROBERT C. WEAVER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. Pp. xiv+329. \$3.00.

This book should not be mistaken for a general study of Negro labor in this country. It is really an ad interim contribution covering the role of the Negro in industry during the war and the beginning of the reconversion period.

However, it is a book that should have been written. It is a book that is useful. It will help to clarify the thinking, the planning, and the action of a great many people who are interested in aiding the Negro worker to retain as many as possible of the gains which he made during the recent war and to improve upon them if possible.

Mr. Weaver is a Harvard Ph.D. in Economics, and the book shows his thorough training and his contracts with outstanding representatives of both management and labor during his ten years in the government service and his shorter term of office with the American Council on Race Relations. It does, on the other hand, betray here and there evidences of the fact that the author has not himself known the labor struggle at first hand. In other words, it is

evident that he has not worked in a plant, in any capacity, where he could have obtained intimate knowledge of the psychology of either the worker or the boss. It is obvious that his knowledge of the problems concerning which he writes is gained from reports of investigators on the staffs of the various organizations which he has helped to administer. For instance, he views "competition for jobs" as precipitating the Detroit riots when any Detroit factory worker knows that the basic cause was something much more fundamental since there was no scarcity of jobs at the time of the riots.

The author is not correct in his claim that the "industrial employment of Negroes in World War II has been much more fundamental and significant than in World War I." There is, of course, abundant evidence to prove that the Negro went much further up the industrial scale in the second World War than in the first. But this should not be surprising. In the communities about which Weaver writes the most—Detroit and the other cities of the central west—Negroes had not even a "toe hold" in industry at the beginning of the first World War. The persons who were interested in placing Negroes in industry in those communities in 1916 and 1917 had to meet not only such handicaps as lack of training on the part of the Negroes but they had to face the mores of the community. This was a much more fundamental and difficult achievement than simply increasing the number of Negroes employed in an industry. The problem of accelerating the industrial progress of the Negro in the period of the recent war was much easier because the channels had been dug. The important thing to be borne in mind here is the fact that the most difficult task is to get the first Negro into an industry where the race has never been employed before. The only unique phenomenon in this regard during the industrial boom of World War II was the entrance of colored women into industry. Dr. Weaver does a good job, not only in pointing this out but in indicating some of the problems connected with this racial, sex angle. It is really this knowledge, i.e., of the importance of "breaking the ice," that makes one lay down the book with a feeling of optimism regarding the future of the Negro in industry. Obstacles still exist in the Negro's path, it must be admitted. Problems of training, of "seniority," and of certain types of union hostility still remain. But

the tremendously encouraging fact, as revealed in this study, is that during World War II the Negro entered so many new industries. The color-caste barrier has been broken down on so many fronts that Negro employment in industry is removed, in large part, from the field of social reform.

Dr. Weaver puts a great deal of emphasis upon "full employment" as a solution of the Negro's difficulties in industry. But this is not the whole answer. There was discrimination against the Negro worker even during the height of the war when the greatest scarcity of manpower existed that this country has ever known. A favorable attitude on the part of the majority group toward the further integration of the Negro into the skilled trades is as important as "full employment."

This reviewer thinks that Dr. Weaver has not paid enough attention to the seriousness of the emotional frustrations growing out of the discharge of large numbers of Negro industrial employees as the war ends. If this book was intended to be of significance and value to social workers, to physicians, to psychiatrists, and to others of similar ilk—it is too academic for the average reader—he might well have pointed out that the social workers and the like have a job of preventing a great many of these discharged industrialists from becoming schizophrenic. These experts, in improving and conserving human well-being, have a challenge to convince a large number of Negro workers that they are not being discharged simply because they are Negroes but rather because they lack "seniority." Of course, in many cases they do not have seniority because, as Negroes, they were the "last hired," but a wholesome factor is present which had not formerly existed, namely, that now that a growing number of Negroes are being accepted as permanent employees in many industries, more and more Negroes will have seniority as the years go by. Consequently, the Negro should not suffer any longer to the extent that he has in the past from that most serious type of frustration in which he sees no hope because he is black.

Dr. Weaver has well pointed out how frequently the policies of management are determined by fear of public opinion—fear especially that they, the owners, would be held responsible by the public for keeping Negroes in certain communities, such as Detroit, after there is no

longer any need for their services in the plants. He did not mention another reason for the biased attitude of many representatives of management in the newer industries about which he writes so much—especially the automobile and the airplane industry. Most of the men who are now managing these newer industries are actually the men who established them. They created their own fortunes. They are not the beneficiaries of inherited wealth. They have many of the characteristics of the *nouveau riche*. Numbers of them came up from the bench themselves. Consequently their notions regarding the ability of Negroes and their attitudes as managers toward Negroes are the notions and the attitudes that they had when they were ordinary workmen themselves. The hope here, of course, is in the second generation of management—these socially sensitive young industrial leaders who are now coming to the front: Detroit, for instance, has reason to be proud of several of these.

Dr. Weaver gives deserved credit to the part played by the C.I.O. in modifying the color-caste occupational pattern in a number of the industries. He might well have also pointed out, in contrast, how at the time of World War I another great union organization, the A.F. of L., did everything within its power to block the Negro's industrial advance.

On the whole, Dr. Weaver charts a sound program of strategy for those who would improve the Negro's industrial condition. He has pointed out the basic problems and he has suggested the most effective treatment for these problems, such as the establishment of federal and state fair employment committees, adequate "training on the job," more careful selection of Negro labor-union leaders, the removal of bias from public employment offices, and "full employment."

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON

*School of Social Work  
Atlanta University*

*Planning for Jobs.* Edited by LYLE FITCH and HORACE TAYLOR. Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1946. Pp. xxii+463. \$3.75.

This volume is based on the proposals submitted in the "Pabst Postwar Employment Awards." The 17 prize-winning plans were published in an earlier volume. This contains the

proposals and discussion from approximately 200 more and a tabulation of proposals from 5,200 of the 36,000 essays submitted (1,100 "superior" and 4,100 chosen at random).

The volume contains an introductory chapter on the employment problem, followed by one on "What America Thinks about the Job Problem." The latter chapter summarizes the many proposals. The remainder of the book is devoted to specific programs, classified according to the nature of the remedies suggested. The occupation of the author is given in each instance. The authors' names (which include many well-known economists, business men, journalists, and others) appear in an index at the end.

One of the most interesting sections is the summary of 5,200 proposals in chapter ii. These offer a considered public-opinion poll. This may be expected to differ from the usual public-opinion poll since (1) those who submit competition essays are necessarily a selected group, (2) it seems probable that judgments arrived at as the result of writing an essay will not be the same as the snap judgments of the same individuals, and (3) no leading questions have been asked. It is particularly significant for these reasons.

Since the individual essayists were not faced with specific questions, the "no answer" group was always large for specific points; but substantial majorities of those answering are registered for the following program: The problem of employment is regarded as continuing and should be a regular function of government. The primary responsibility lies with the federal government, although state and local authorities are expected to co-operate.

Approximately half of all essayists approve public works programs, including housing. The specific activities proposed (in order of votes) are road construction, housing, dams for irrigation and power, and conservation programs. Measures to promote private investment and production receive less attention than public works, but the two proposed most often are tax reform (especially tax deductions for above-normal employment) and cheap credit. There is a belief that measures dealing with foreign trade and investment are important, but specific proposals in this field are few. Less than one-fifth of all plans suggest measures to promote consumption. Those that do make such proposals are about equally divided between unemployment insurance measures and consumer subsidies or other consumer benefits. Educational

programs, both for veterans and young people, are frequently proposed. On the whole, more government participation is advocated, rather than less, and little confidence is expressed in a self-adjusting economy.

The standard panaceas of the past—inflation through increased issues of money, the Townsend plan, the Henry George single tax, and restrictive use of labor-saving machinery—receive negligible approval. Fashions have changed!

The value of this material lies partly in the variety of its suggestions. It seems improbable that any important roads for exploration in this field have been overlooked, and students of the problem of full employment will find a careful reading of this book very rewarding. But it has value, also, as an index of thoughtful public opinion. As the authors state, "in a democracy the first requirement of planning is knowing what people think, what they want, which policies they favor, and which they will probably not accept." The editors of this volume have done an excellent job of selecting, organizing, and presenting the material, and the results should bring us one step nearer to the accepted goal of full employment.

MABEL NEWCOMER

*Vassar College*

*Labor Policy of the Federal Government.* By HAROLD W. METZ. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1945. Pp. xi+284. \$2.50.

Mr. Metz has taken as his task "to survey the general labor policy of the Federal Government in a systematic analytical manner." He gives as his "sole objective" the description of the labor policy of the government. While he stresses the objectivity of his discussion, the book seems to the reviewer to be full of judgments upon the desirability of the various policies discussed. Certainly it leaves in the reader's mind a strong feeling of bias against many of the laws and regulations that have been passed for the improvement of labor standards.

To one familiar with the operation of federal labor legislation it will almost certainly seem clear that the author has come to his conclusions through limited reading rather than actual contact with the administrative processes.

On page 15, for instance, he says of the workers covered by the Public Contracts Act that

they "can be employed only 8 hours a day." In the next paragraph he states that the Wage and Hour Act provides "for a maximum 40-hour week." These statements are inaccurate, to say the least, for longer hours can be worked under both statutes provided time and a half is paid. In this respect they differ from most state hours laws which establish flat daily and weekly maximums.

On page 217, in trying to show that the time-and-a-half feature of the Wage and Hour Act should have been discarded in wartime, he quotes the Secretary of Labor as asserting "that a 48-hour work week was advantageous and desirable." He further quotes the joint statement of six government agencies to the effect that "the 48-hour week approximates the best working schedule for sustained efficiency." He fails to note that this joint statement, as well as the Secretary of Labor's remarks, were directed to limiting the extension of hours in the war emergency rather than to supersede the peacetime forty-hour standard. At the time the statement was issued it was not uncommon for plants to be working sixty to seventy, or even eighty, hours a week.

On page 275, he criticizes the inconsistency of the standard for determining minimum wages employed by the Wage and Hour Division and that employed by the National War Labor Board—quite ignoring the fact that one agency deals with a minimum under certain legislative criteria and the other agency deals with all sorts of wage rates and is subject to quite different and much broader criteria set up by executive order. He omits any mention of the executive orders which gave the War Labor Board the framework within which it operates and thus conveys the idea that the Board acted on its own initiative.

His discussion of wage determination under the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts is most unrealistic. He fails to recognize that such determination is not an exact science. True, as he says, "the reasons for a 40-cent minimum are not clear." A blanket minimum wage of this sort established by Congress is naturally reached by compromise. The debate now going on in Congress to raise the minimum under the Fair Labor Standards Act to sixty-five cents an hour probably will not be resolved in accordance with accepted standards of wage determination. Similarly, minimum wage rates fixed in the various states through wage board procedure, although supposed to support a working woman



in "health and decency," have never been known to reach the figure established as necessary to meet the cost of living standard. The rate agreed upon as a minimum is the highest that is considered economically and politically feasible at a given time.

Lack of sympathy with the purpose of labor legislation is clearly indicated by the discussion of child labor. The opening paragraph (p. 223) reads, "Practically all the States have long restricted child labor. Nevertheless there has been a strong demand for Federal child labor legislation because some States have lower standards than others." He seems to feel that the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act eliminated the need for further improvement of child labor legislation. In this connection it might be interesting to point to the figures showing the increase in employment of children during the war years from less than one million in April, 1940, to three million in April, 1944. In addition thousands under fourteen were employed for whom no records were kept.

In speaking of the safety provisions of the Public Contracts Act, Mr. Metz says: "The regulation of safety conditions in plants producing for the Government can be justified only as an indirect way of promoting safety in general, because the maintenance of safe working conditions does not directly affect the price or quality of the goods bought by the Government." He apparently is not aware that the National Safety Council estimates that the annual cost of work accidents is close to five billion dollars. During the war, when most production was for the government, a large part of this five billion dollars was undoubtedly added to the purchase price.

The bias against trade-unions comes out in various places. On page 260, footnote 18, for instance, he goes a long way around in order to avoid crediting labor with a no-strike pledge during the war. Numerous inaccuracies could be pointed out, such as the statement that the Women's Bureau administers certain grants-in-aid to the states under the Social Security Act.

The labor policy of the federal government has been developed piecemeal and needs constructive criticism, but this book will do little to clarify the issues involved.

CLARA M. BEYER

*Division of Labor Standards  
U.S. Department of Labor  
Washington, D.C.*

*Food, Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore (1943-44).* By SRI K. G. SIVASWAMY and OTHERS. Coimbatore, S. India: Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, 1945. Pp. 265. Rs. 5 (\$1.50).

*The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles.* By SRI SIVASWAMY and OTHERS. Published by the above-named Relief Centre, August, 1945. Pp. 39.

These volumes are the first in a series of five on "Food Shortage, Inadequate Diets and Malnutrition Diseases." The others will deal with Cochin, Madras, and Orissa. In face of immediate threat of the most terrible famine in India's famine-ridden history, which is causing that subcontinent to seethe with unrest and bloody riots in widely separated areas, the study of any one of India's 562 states may seem almost unimportant. Further, the Indian makers of these surveys lacked facilities that make possible the authoritative claims of American social statistics. For example, the authors became convinced by well-kept records of Latin churches to which many subjects of their surveys belonged that for the people at large it was necessary to double the numbers reported in order to approximate the actual number of births and deaths.

However, the findings and conclusions of these educated Indians, most of them doctors and all strong in humanitarian interest, offer many illustrations and suggestions pertinent to the country as a whole. The enterprise stems from a relief center under the notable Servants of India Society, whose present twenty-seven members have vowed lifelong devotion to their country and its people in need. Sri Sivaswamy is secretary for the Centre and the chief writer. The books are written in English by persons to whom it is a school-acquired language and therefore not always easy to follow. Volume I is broken up into almost independent statistics and findings by surveyors of various small sections. Yet, it is a document with definite contribution to general research studies of food, hunger, and hunger-produced or hunger-fostered ailments.

This reviewer remembers Travancore as a green, fruitful region of India, with coconut groves, tea estates, or gardens of tapioca, ginger, pepper, and saffron. The surveyors saw a different picture. The houses offered little protection against night cold and damp. The pools in the swampy sands bred malarial mosquitoes and

stank with millions of coconut husks being rotted in the process of making coir yarn. Most of the day was cruelly hot. The workers watered the trees half the year in return for permission to live on the place. Some were allowed the coconuts on one tree. War made intolerable the ordinarily low level of physical life.

The impetus to the surveys came from rumors that the problem of the Shertellay area had been solved by government of India orders to give factory work there and by certain relief agencies. A survey team of 27 persons, armed with questionnaires, visited 271 families with 1,315 persons, in a few typical villages, in order to report actual conditions.

Causes for the famine were: the cutting-off of the rice supply always counted on from Burma, the stopping of coir-yarn exports because of lack of shipping space, unsettling influences of Japan's declaration of war, skyrocketing price of rice, removal of paddy from the market by government order, hoarding, black markets, corruption, mistakes and selfish interests of the government of Travancore, inequalities among the states and provinces of India, vicious circles caused by mounting desperation, and experiments that hurt instead of helped. Sri Sivaswamy contributed fifty pages to the book under the title "Food Shortage and State Control," in which he included a significant analysis of the difficulties, limitations, and inconsistent efforts for better and for worse involved in the feudal form of this native state.

The surveyors found most pitiable situations, with the death rate far exceeding the birth rate. One saw no family without a leper or a victim of tuberculosis or of the filarial mosquito. Half the children of school age were not in school. Sometimes parents had to remain indoors until their children returned from school, to take a turn at wearing the only clothes the family still owned. Children of thirteen and fourteen, some of them becoming beggars, looked the ages of seven and eight. An investigator observed, "I scarcely saw a smile or heard a baby cry." Mothers and children became too weak to struggle with the coconut fiber. When a mother succeeded in doing so, she was too likely to return from market with her yarn unsold. She and her brood were walking skeletons. Few owned their husks. They borrowed or bought them and often could do neither. In another area all the men were fishers with rented nets. Their wives made nets at three-cent wages a day.

Breakfast often consisted of cold rice water

left from the preceding night. The normal diet consisted of rice, tapioca, grams, fish, coconut, and spices. In 1943-44 they were forced to use tapioca more and more. Some families went ten days out of the month foodless. Sixty families were found to eat only one meal each two days. Meals often consisted of half a pound of powdered tapioca or bad rice cooked in water. Milk and milk products were for "the very rich" only. In two years the number of excess deaths in Travancore was estimated at more than ninety-five thousand.

In the aftermath of famine came an increase in diarrhea, dysentery, and edema, a phenomenal increase in the number of diseases, and an increase in anemia, scabies, ulcers, neuritis, and chronic digestive troubles, apparently aggravated by the food situation.

The writers recognize the services of the American Friends Ambulance Service, the Red Cross, the Servants of India Society and, in certain respects, the government of Travancore. Thirteen specific recommendations were made, among them: A controlled market at cheaper price for grams and fish in addition to food grains, relief works, relief kitchens, school children feeding, medical relief, greater supply of protective foods, and restaurants for popularizing use of wheat and dry grains.

A significant statement was: "Eggs should not be permitted to be exported to the military and the navy without satisfying the local needs."

There is included in the book analysis of food values of meals of various families studied, also a note on pests of stored wheat and rice and other items. The Centre also requests publicity and exchange of publications.

The second volume, rich in pungent detail, deals with the emigrations from the affected areas. In the exodus to Malabar, mostly in 1943, about fifteen thousand traveled about two hundred miles by train and a hundred by road, clearing inhospitable jungles and cultivating them for food crops, fighting against malaria, wild animals, and the cold climate in the uplands of Malabar. Unable to bear the privations and the ordeals of a settlement unaided by the state, a certain number returned to their native country completely broken in health and fortune.

HAZEL E. FOSTER

*Congregational Church  
Spring Valley, Wisconsin*

*The Jewish Dilemma.* By ELMER BERGER. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1945. Pp. viii+257. \$3.00.

This book is a sustained one-man debate on Judaism versus Zionism. The author presents long and heated arguments against Zionism and its leaders. He sees emancipation as the only solution to the Jewish problem. His thesis in brief is as follows: Jews are not a "people" but only human beings who profess Judaism as their religion. They are otherwise not different from Catholics, Protestants, and other sects, who happen to be Americans, Russians, French, Germans, et cetera, et cetera. Zionist Nationalism has not only retarded a solution of the Jewish problem but has aggravated it. That solution, he contends, lies in emancipation, which is not the same as assimilation. Assimilation, according to the author, means giving up Judaism. In America, the country with the largest number of Jews, emancipation had a good start with the development and growth of Reform Judaism. As a matter of fact, complete emancipation, the author infers, is possible only in Reform Judaism. Alas, Reform failed the cause of emancipation. The Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform) declared in 1943 that "there was no incompatibility between Reform Jews and Zionism." Reform Judaism, the author laments, swung into "the orbit of synthetic Zionism." Obviously the author con-

sidered this a betrayal not alone of Reform Judaism but of the "average" Jew of America. Why did he (the "average" Jew) not lift a voice in protest, he queries. The answer lies in the birth of the American Council of Judaism under the leadership of Lessing J. Rosenwald, the organization of which the author is the executive director. This new Jewish movement, composed of the wealthier Jews in the main, is the spokesman for and the hope of the "average" Jews, the author contends. The American Council of Judaism is offered as the solution to the Jewish problem, and emancipation—complete emancipation—is the slogan and platform of this organization. The American Council of Judaism is not opposed to Palestine as a haven for individual Jews as a humanitarian, philanthropic undertaking. But Jews as a people, the author asserts, are not homeless, and must not be considered homeless. Not even the Jewish remnants in Nazi concentration camps must be considered homeless.

*The Jewish Dilemma*, the author states in the opening paragraph, was written in answer to a letter he received from a professor who is perplexed about the division among Jews over the solution to their problem. It is doubtful that this book has resolved the good professor's perplexity.

JACOB KEPECS

*Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago*

#### BRIEF NOTICES

*State Veteran's Programs.* Rev. ed. Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1945. Pp. 54. \$1.00.

*Veterans' Information Centers: A Survey of Their Operation and Services.* (Publication No. 94.) Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1945. Pp. 49. \$1.50. (Processed.)

This publication of the Council of State Governments, *State Veterans' Programs*, brings together in useful and accessible form information concerning state benefits and services to veterans. The first section outlines the basic facts regarding state veterans' service officers in the forty-one states which have established such agencies. The second part contains short statements on state legislation for veterans enacted prior to 1945, arranged by subject; and the third section includes brief summaries, state by state, of legislation enacted during 1945, a year which saw great activity in the states with respect to benefits and services to veterans.

*State Veterans' Programs* is a useful supplement to the compilation of the House Committee on Pen-

sions, *State Veterans Laws*,<sup>1</sup> which provides a comprehensive digest of laws enacted prior to January 1, 1945. The emphasis given to state provisions respecting veterans' service officers reflects the great interest attached to this relatively new activity on the part of the state to co-ordinate state efforts and provide information to veterans on the multitude of rights and benefits that are theirs and on how to get them.

The development of veterans' information centers in the local community represents similar effort to help the veteran find his way to the proper agency for service. *Veterans' Information Centers* presents data gathered by questionnaires sent to municipal officers in 405 cities of 25,000 or more population. Replies were received from 233 cities, of which 139 were reported to have veterans' information centers. This report is primarily concerned with the 91 centers operated exclusively by local governments

<sup>1</sup> House Committee Print No. 10, 78th Congress, 2d sess. (Washington, D.C., 1945).

or by the local government in co-operation with other public or private agencies. General information is given regarding auspices, organization, size of budget and source of funds, size of staff, and types of services offered. Half the report is devoted to a tabular presentation, city by city, of brief entries on these subjects.

MARY E. MACDONALD

*Law of Marriage and Divorce Simplified: With Charts of 48 States.* By RICHARD V. MACKAY, LL.M. ("Legal Almanac Series" No. 1.) New York: Oceana Publications, 1946. Pp. 74. \$1.00.

This little volume presents in brief and convenient form the essential features of the law of marriage and divorce, including license requirements and provisions for separation, divorce, and annulment. Similar publications on other subjects are promised. The Preface makes it clear that the author has no intention of displacing the attorney or substituting for his services the information contained in this little treatise.

The discussion in separate chapters deals with marriage, annulment, separation, divorce, alimony and property rights, re-marriage, ante-nuptial agreements, separation agreements, and G.I. marriages. There is a Glossary defining terms, and material is also presented in charts in which the information is presented in graphic form. As this is spoken of as No. 1 in a series, it will probably be followed by a similar presentation of the law of parent and child. To the student of the field of domestic relations the statutory summary always seems inadequate without judicial interpretation, but this type of brief statement is probably very useful for the young returning veterans, many of whom have entered into new obligations and will find useful a statement of the obligations they have assumed.

S. P. B.

*A Study of Services for Children in Dallas County, Texas, with Particular Reference to the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.* Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1945. Pp. 178. \$1.00.

This report provides a general blueprint for planning and action by the agencies of Dallas, both public and private, for the improvement of the existing services for children of the city and county and for the provision for such new services as desirable for all children, though with particular focus on the juvenile delinquent.

The American Public Welfare Association made the study at the invitation of the Citizens Committee on Juvenile Welfare sponsored by the

Council of Social Agencies of Dallas. As stated in the letter of transmittal, there was agreement "that the cooperation of all public and private social agencies dealing with children would be sought in order that an objective evaluation of children's services in Dallas could be made." A large part of the value of this study lies in the fact that the social agencies, the court, the schools, the churches, the police, health agencies, and recreational and leisure-time organizations were all brought into the general scope of the study and participated in the discussion of projected planning. Special time and emphasis was, however, put on the juvenile court as an agency of major influence in the treatment of young delinquents.

The study staff did not attempt to go into the technical aspects of social treatment but confined its recommendations generally along lines of sound principles of agency organization, division and assumption of functional responsibility between and within agencies, standards of personnel, and methods of co-operative relationships. Sufficient analysis of present services and resources was made to provide a basis for indicating the next steps that should be taken by the agencies and by the community through its Citizens Committee. The report makes quite clear in simple, straight-forward language the changes needed with the reasons therefor. It shows the urgent necessity of staffing the services with competent personnel and maintaining a continuous community co-operation.

CATHERINE M. DUNN

*Seed of Chaos: What Mass Bombing Really Means.* By VERA BRITAIN. Published for the Bombing Restriction Committee by New Vision Publishing Co., London, 1944. Pp. 118. 3s. 6d.

This little book presents one of the earlier protests in England against the policy of obliteration bombing by the British and American forces in the spring of 1944; it represents the point of view of an English group before obliteration bombing rushed on to the crescendo of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Vera Britain is a gifted writer, and her statement of the case against mass bombing is a moving appeal for "the mothers on whose homes destruction fell."

"We can do no less than seek an answer to each new excursion into the dark abyss of inhuman barbarity, for as we become more . . . intelligent creatures, our capacity for good and evil alike increases with our knowledge. . . ."

"If the nations of the world cannot agree, when peace returns, to refrain from the use of the bombing aeroplane as they have refrained from using poison gas, then mankind itself deserves to perish from the epidemic of moral insanity which today afflicts our civilisation."

E. A.

*Living in Stepney: Past, Present, and Future.* Compiled by the STEPNEY RECONSTRUCTION GROUP, TOYNBEE HALL. London: Pilot Press, Ltd., 1945. Pp. 67. 3s. 6d.

This little book by a Toynbee Committee is an interesting brief report on the social and economic problems of the great East London borough where Toynbee Hall residents have lived and worked for more than sixty years. American students will especially appreciate the brief review of Stepney's history over a thousand years from the time when Stepney was a country village on the border of the ancient city of London. The story of Stepney's slow growth over the centuries is the story of Ratcliffe, Limehouse, Whitechapel, Mile End, Spitalfields, Houndsditch, and other well-known areas. There are well-chosen illustrations from old prints. Here, for example, is a picture of England's largest voluntary hospital, popularly known as "the London," as it was completed in 1759 when it was surrounded by open fields. There are excellent maps and diagrams.

*Handbook for Nurses: Disaster Preparedness and Relief.* (ARC 1500, rev. Nov., 1945). Washington. D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1945. Pp. 62.

This *Handbook on Disaster Preparedness and Relief* undoubtedly will have much usefulness in communities where medical and health services must be mobilized quickly and utilized effectively in meeting a disaster. The Red Cross, on the basis of its long experience in this area, offers clear and succinct directions to local personnel to the end that the various medical health and welfare resources of a given community may be rapidly organized for efficient and co-ordinated service.

D. G.

*Social Work and the Joneses.* By RUTH LERRIGO and BRADLEY BUELL. (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 97.) New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1944. Pp. 31. \$0.10.

This pamphlet is intended for popular reading. It attempts to define social work and to emphasize the need for joint, community-wide planning by all social agencies, both public and private, in order to provide uniformly good service and to anticipate new needs. It describes the trials and tribulations of Joe Jones and his family, who go from moderate prosperity to poverty when Joe loses his job. Grandfather Jones's old age assistance check barely covers the cost of his food, and "he merely sits." When the family morale is bankrupt and little Joe begins to truant, Centerville's eighty-eight agencies feel a call to action. The public agency gives money and the private agency gives the skilled service that enables the family to budget its income, etc.

C. K. G.

*Pictorial Social Histories of Britain, Book II: (England), 1815 to Present Day.* By LESLIE T. DAW. Sussex, Eng.: John Crother, 1945. Pp. 60. 6s.

This small volume with its excellent collection of pictures and useful commentaries is a good brief review of the social history of England. The use of illustrations from contemporary sources is particularly valuable in any attempt to understand the life of a nation. The principle here is "one topic—one picture," and the written commentary is based on the illustrations.

The author's aim has been to awaken an interest in the documents, prints, and models which are to be found in England's great libraries and museums.

Here is Joseph Lancaster's pioneer free school on the monitorial plan, here cartoons of the People's Charter, here are the children rescued from the mines, illustrations from Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, pictures showing early attempts at housing reform. The absence of various topics could be noticed, but the work has been done in wartime, and its size has therefore been rigidly limited.

As an earlier volume covered the period 1689-1815, the period covered here is 1815 to the present time.



## REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*Selective Placement for the Handicapped.* U.S. WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE. Washington, D.C., 1945. Pp. vi+136.

The objective of selective placement for the handicapped is the placement of handicapped workers in jobs where their disabilities do not interfere with their efficiency and where they can compete on equal terms with the ordinary worker. Effective and large-scale utilization of the handicapped worker in industry depends upon careful job analysis to determine exactly the physical demands of the particular job and equally careful evaluation of the physical capacities of the handicapped worker. Good placement practice has, of course, always involved matching the demands of the job with the capacities of the applicant. Selective placement extends these principles to include for the handicapped worker job analysis in terms of specific physical demands, such as the need to be able to walk or run, to crouch or crawl, to talk or hear, and so forth.

As the report points out, selective placement techniques for those whose handicaps are mental or emotional, rather than physical, have hardly advanced beyond recognition of the need for their development. Ten years of research and study by the U.S.E.S. have gone into the development of selective placement techniques for the physically handicapped. Effort to develop the same techniques for the effective job placement of mentally or emotionally handicapped workers is now in order.

There are sections of the report devoted to general discussion of the placement problems and the placement process for the handicapped; specific disabilities and their evaluation in relation to employment; and, last, elaboration of the process and illustrations of the forms used in physical-demands analysis and physical capacities appraisal. This document represents a revision of material that was previously available only on a limited basis and in mimeographed form. *Selective Placement for the Handicapped* should be read by all who are interested

in the occupational adjustment of the disabled veteran and the disabled civilian.

MARY E. MACDONALD

University of Chicago

*Facts about Child Health 1946.* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 294.) Washington, D.C., 1946. Pp. 31.

This is a very attractive, readable little pamphlet with excellent illustrations. The different sections deal in a popular way with questions in which everyone should be interested and which should "direct our planning for the days to come."

No wars we win, no cities we build, will matter if the minds and bodies of our children are not made strong enough to do all that we talked about doing in the years between the wars, and all that we dreamed of doing when the new peace would come.

Now that peace is here, what are we going to do to insure health and stamina to our children? More, let us hope, than in the past. For our record to date has been nothing to boast of. Forty percent of the young men examined for the armed forces were rejected because of physical or mental defects.

There is an excellent brief section on the Maternal and Child Health Services which the Bureau provides under the Social Security Act, a brief account of the E.M.I.C. program, and a good summary of the recommendations of the Steering Committee on Health Services of the Children's Bureau. Among other recommendations these are important:

1. An increase in federal grants to states for maternal and child health and crippled children's services.

2. State-wide coverage.

3. The expansion of community health services for mothers and children, so that health services, "including treatment services, should be made available throughout every state for mothers and infants, and for children of all ages, including those in school and those at work."

Special emphasis is placed on the improvement of school health services, including those in academic and vocational high schools.

It is also urged that financial provisions should be made "without further delay to provide adequate clinic and hospital service to mothers, infants, and children as part of the community health service and to assume continuity of care for maternity patients and newborn infants."

4. Expansion of services for crippled children is also recommended. "Crippled children's services should be extended through provisions for clinic, hospital, and other types of care, as indicated, until complete service is made available to the entire Nation."

We have the knowledge, the skill, and the training to do a vastly better job than we are doing. Our maternal and infant mortality rates are still too high. At least three-fourths of all our school children have dental defects. A startlingly large number of our children must go through life with physical handicaps, many of which are remediable. Large numbers suffer from deficiency diseases and general malnutrition.

These are the conditions we must face. Yet health centers and hospitals in rural areas are inadequate as are medical and nursing services. Many counties have no prenatal clinics or well-baby conferences at all. In many parts of the country school health services are insufficient in amount and largely inadequate in quality. There is far too little done to correct defects found at examinations of preschool or school children.

This useful pamphlet should be widely distributed.

E.A.

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*Statutes and Congressional Reports Pertaining to the National Labor Relations Board.* NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD. Washington D.C., 1945. Pp. 141. \$0.25.

*Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board.* Vol. 60. Washington, D.C., 1945. Pp. 1487. \$3.00.

The first of these publications sets forth the legislation creating the National Labor Relations Board and defining its powers, and the second gives a picture of its work over a three months' period.

Social workers as a group have long realized the importance of trade-union action in raising scales of living for the low-income group and have been advocates of the guaranteed right of

collective bargaining. They have watched with interest the important developments in this field during the last decade. They will find particularly useful the first report, which brings together the statutes and congressional reports pertaining to the board. Included here are the texts of the National Labor Relations Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and the National Labor Relations Board Appropriation Acts, as well as sections from numerous other acts closely related to one or more of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act or the powers of the board. These include such laws as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Railway Labor Act, the Communications Act, the Bankruptcy Act, the Federal Credit Union Act, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Selective Service Act, and the Federal Trade Commission Act. In addition there is a very useful summary of the legislative history of the National Labor Relations Act from the time of its introduction in the Senate, February 15, 1935, through its referral to committees, the committee hearings and reports, the House and Senate debates, to its final passage, and presidential approval on July 5, 1935.

Because of the great importance of the administrative agency in our modern governmental system, this is an illuminating and highly useful publication and could well be duplicated for other boards.

The second publication, which covers the period from January 15 to March 24, 1945, is Volume 60 in the rapidly growing list of reports of board decisions and orders. There is a useful alphabetical list of the cases reported; and the cases are presented with a statement of the case, the findings of fact, the recommendations, decisions, and orders. The cases involve questions of alleged unfair labor practices and of representation and the appropriate bargaining unit.

MARY SYDNEY BRANCH

*University of Chicago*

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*Social Security Yearbook, 1944: Annual Supplement to the Social Security Bulletin.* FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. 169. \$0.50.

This publication is a gold mine of facts regarding social security in general and old age and survivors insurance, unemployment com-

pensation, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind in particular. The present supplement is the sixth of the series, beginning in 1939.

As its title implies, the purpose of the supplement is to assemble detailed data regarding the operation of the social security program during the year. Prior to 1939 many of these data were incorporated in the Board's annual reports. Unlike the annual reports, which cover the fiscal year July 1 to June 30, the supplement presents data for the calendar year.

The material is organized into four sections: "Social Security and the National Economy"; "Old Age and Survivors Insurance"; "Unemployment Compensation"; and "Public Assistance." The *Yearbook* contains a detailed index and a list of recent publications of the Social Security Board.

In the first section the reader will find a lucid presentation of the social security program on the background of our total economy. Here are discussion, tables, and charts on such topics as income payments, employment and wages, social security status of the population in 1944, and the financing of social security and related programs. The term "social security" is used broadly to include workmen's compensation, civil service retirement systems, railroad insurance, veterans' programs, public health, education and housing, in addition to the usual programs included under that heading.

There is also a chronology of significant events in 1944 relating to social security. Besides the events that occurred in this country, there is a selection of significant developments in other countries, such as the series of British White Papers relating to *Social Insurance*, *National Health Services*, and *Full Employment*, the inauguration of or additions to social insurance programs in Mexico, Paraguay, Australia, Uruguay, Spain, Canada, Argentina, and Belgium. Significant legislation, supreme court decisions, congressional committee hearings, and similar events in this country are summarized together with citations.

It is significant that in this year of full employment and unprecedented national income (\$157 billion) over \$4 billion were expended for social security and related programs. Almost \$2 billion went for social insurance, \$1 billion for public aid, and approximately \$1 billion for health and medical aid. This expenditure was fairly evenly divided between the federal government and state and local governments, the

federal providing 48.5 per cent and states and local governments together 51.5 per cent of the total.

The report reveals the remarkable shift that is taking place in this country from assistance to social insurance for purposes of family-income maintenance. In 1936, for example, when total public aid expenditures (including federal work programs) amounted to nearly \$3 billion, social insurance and related payments amounted to less than \$1 billion. In the year 1944 public aid expenditures had dropped to less than \$1 billion while social insurance and related payments approximated \$2 billion.

Social workers will perhaps be most interested in the section on public assistance. Here the student will find data relating to case loads and expenditures for public assistance for the years 1936 to 1944. One can find such data for the total public aid program for the whole country as well as by individual states and for specific programs. If the student is searching for information regarding sources of funds for public assistance, average grants for any state or for any program, or if he wants data on the relative assistance burdens carried by each state, he can find the answers in this report.

The extent to which certain categories receive disproportionate aid in some states is indicated in a table (p. 136). For example, New York State with 9.8 per cent of the country's total population accounted for 26 per cent of the country's expenditures for general relief and 7.2 per cent of the expenditures for special types of public assistance. By contrast, Texas with 4.9 per cent of the population spent 5.7 per cent of the nation's expenditures for special types of assistance and only .6 per cent of the general relief. North Carolina with 2.6 per cent of the population accounted for only .3 per cent of the general relief and .8 per cent of special assistance payments. These facts offer rather striking evidence that the poorer states tend to utilize their meager funds for those programs in which there is federal matching, with consequent neglect of the group of needy families dependent upon general relief.

The extent to which local responsibility has been modified is indicated in a table found on page 152, where it is indicated that local funds accounted for only 7.9 per cent of O.A.A., 17.6 per cent of A.D.C., 11 per cent of Aid to Blind, and 52.6 per cent of general relief expenditures in 1944. The same table indicates that in two states and two territories the state in 1944 paid

all the costs of general relief, while in twelve states all the general relief costs were carried by the local governments and in five other states over 90 per cent was derived from local funds.

Though there is a mass of valuable data here, it is presented with a minimum of interpretation. Though some persons prefer to have data presented in this form, the present reviewer believes that the report could be made more useful for a larger number if the raw data were accompanied by more interpretative comment.

No student or administrator of a social security program can afford not to have a set of these supplements in his library.

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*South Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, Eighth Annual Report, 1945.* Columbia, S.C., 1945. Pp. 92.

This *Report*, which covers the year ending June 30, 1945, refers to the decade which had just ended since the signing of the Social Security Act by President Roosevelt. There was, however, a two-year delay before the state of South Carolina could participate in federal funds, owing to a clause in the state constitution which appeared to preclude the granting of cash payments to individuals other than military pensions. Therefore, the public assistance and newer child welfare programs date from 1937; and, as the *Report* states, except for limited institutional care for certain groups,

the only public provision prior to 1937 for the needy, the dependent, and chronically ill in South Carolina was the responsibility of the individual counties or municipalities—a responsibility usually discharged, most inadequately, through the medium of the antiquated almshouse and poor farm system, or through the providing of the barest necessities to such individuals, who thus became automatically classified as paupers.

In view of the foregoing comment, it is of special interest to note that for the first time state funds are to pay the total cost of general assistance (as is done for O.A.A., A.D.C., and A.B.) and that the counties will no longer share 50 per cent of the costs of such grants. The increased funds available to the state department were reflected in a rise in the average grant for general assistance from \$10.70 for October, 1944, to \$13.61 a year later.

With respect to residence requirements as a condition of eligibility for public assistance, unfortunately, the five-year period permitted under the Social Security Act for O.A.A. and A.B. was written into the South Carolina Constitution when the state public assistance legislation was first enacted, and only in 1945 was this constitutional provision eliminated. Now the legislature is free to follow the recommendations of the Board of Public Welfare and the state director that statutory residence requirements governing public assistance be abolished on the basis that such restrictions serve no useful purpose and in many instances prevent the granting of assistance to persons who are genuinely in need. The *Report* goes on to say that the board would then be free to

provide by regulation reasonable restrictions upon the right of citizens of other states to receive public assistance after becoming bona fide residents of South Carolina, such regulation to cover reciprocal arrangements with such other states designed to secure similar treatment for citizens of south Carolina removing to such other states.

Another important recommendation is the removal of maximum grants from the statutes, which at present, for example, limit the monthly old age assistance grant to \$20. This recommendation is based on the need existing in special cases, but at the same time the *Report* states that during 1945 the department was able to meet only 60 per cent of the budgeted deficiency in O.A.A. as compared with 75 per cent for the previous year, and in A.D.C. only 50 per cent was met as compared with 60 per cent for the year preceding. Recipients of aid to the blind continued to receive 100 per cent of their budgeted needs, *unless this amount exceeded the \$25 maximum* written into the act. The dilemma which faces the South Carolina department is fairly typical throughout the southern states: grants are low, legislative appropriations are never sufficient to meet total needs, and, at the same time, there is an increase in the number of applications as the wartime economy recedes.

In the *Report* considerable emphasis is placed on the importance of good personnel to administer both the public assistance and the child welfare programs throughout the state. The department has been handicapped through inability to recruit and retain a sufficient staff; and, although the war resulted in personnel shortages all along the line, the more basic difficulty is the low salaries paid in the state. As the *Report* states:



More and more it is being recognized that only well-trained, tolerant, and sympathetic persons should be employed in dealing with the most intimate and sacred human relations which are encountered every day by public welfare workers; and the type of training needed to fit workers for this delicate task requires long and expensive study.

Again, this is the dilemma of many southern states, as the workers who do spend the time and make the necessary financial sacrifices to prepare themselves professionally then find employment outside their own states at higher salaries.

In South Carolina, responsibility for an overall child welfare program unfortunately is divided between the older state agency, the South Carolina Children's Bureau, and the Child Welfare Division of the state department. The latter agency does not place children in adoptive homes and is further limited by the lack of funds for the foster-home program. However, demands for services greatly increased during 1945, and these came from the courts, the county commissioners, the schools, parents, relatives, and a great variety of interested persons. A monthly average of 3,000 children were given some type of service through the county departments, and only 25 per cent of these children were receiving public assistance. The problem facing the child welfare staff, which consisted of the chief of the division, seven consultants, thirteen child welfare workers, and one worker in training, is self-evident.

In addition to the administration of public assistance and child welfare services, the state department maintains a Division for the Blind, and the expansion of the work of this division was under way as a result of the federal funds available for rehabilitation services. Again, the lack of technically equipped personnel will retard the effectiveness of this service. The South Carolina *Report* reveals many of the problems which are typical of other southern public welfare departments. At the same time, the tremendous gains which have come as a result of a decade of social security legislation should be kept in mind.

ELIZABETH WISNER

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*Mississippi State Department of Public Welfare, Fifth Biennial Report, July 1, 1943—June 30, 1945. Jackson, 1945. Pp. 67.*

This *Report* of the activities of the Mississippi State Department contains a brief narrative description of its assistance and service programs as well as a statistical review of financial and recipient data.

The department finances and administers, through county departments of public welfare, the three federally aided public assistance programs—old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind—as well as a variety of service programs, including child welfare services, services to the blind, and community services. Parole services, the newest of the programs, was added by the legislature in 1944.

Assistance grants, while higher than in the preceding biennium, were still pitifully low in June, 1945. At that time the average grant for O.A.A. was \$15.42 a month, or approximately 72 per cent of actual subsistence needs; that for A.D.C. was \$10.08 per child, an amount meeting only 50 to 60 per cent of the budgetary deficit; and that for the blind was \$22.18. The latter, which met budgetary need on a subsistence basis, had been in effect only six months. The need for increased appropriations is recognized, and the department expressed the belief that "the people of the state would heartily approve such increase."

The service programs administered by the department are of particular interest. Special services for the blind of all ages had expanded greatly during the biennium, especially with the initiation of rehabilitation and placement services in August, 1944. The Division for the Blind was responsible for securing treatments for visual handicaps, as an aid to sight conservation, for 646 persons; 72 others were given training at the Training Center. It also developed, in co-operation with a private school, an educational and training program for Negro blind children for whose care the state had as yet made no provision. In view of all these services for the blind, it can be said that "Mississippi has moved to the very forefront of the states of our nation."

The Division of Child Welfare has also made progress. Since 1940 this division had provided financial assistance to children living in their own homes or homes of relatives. It also provided child welfare services. Under the latter program 6,621 homeless, dependent, neglected, or delinquent children were given service by eleven local child welfare workers attached to the county department and by the local county



welfare staffs in the eighty-eight counties of the state. The majority of these children were in their own homes or in the homes of relatives.

The Division of Community Services took part in a number of war-connected services, including investigations for the Selective Service Boards and Women's Army Corps. It also distributed federal funds to civilians in need as a result of enemy attack and to enemy aliens within the state. Parole services, a program inaugurated in co-operation with the State Parole Board, had been established only ten months; but during that time the department had handled 345 investigations and had supervised 111 parolees.

The *Report* indicates that Mississippi had made many advances in the public welfare field and that more could be expected in the future.

MARY ZAHROBSKY

*University of Chicago*

*City of Baltimore Department of Public Welfare,  
Tenth Annual Report, 1944. Baltimore, 1945.  
Pp. 235.*

This *Report* summarizes the development of the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare, created in 1935, during its first decade. The director, in his fifty-eight-page letter of transmittal to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, discusses the social and economic conditions that are largely responsible for the plight of the families and individuals served by the Baltimore agency. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for programs of prevention, specifically for full employment, extension of social security, a planned program to relieve racial tensions, more adequate housing and medical care, and for liberalization and more adequate financing of public assistance.

In addition to the letter of transmittal, the *Report* includes a chart of the organization of the department, a description by functional divisions of the important changes in policy and emphasis during the ten-year period, and a record illustrated by charts and tables of the year's activities in each division. There is a nine-member board advisory to the director, who has immediately under his supervision, and administratively responsible for each of the three major divisions of the department, the assistant director of public welfare, the assistant director of medical care, and the superintendent of the Baltimore City Hospitals.

The social services, under the administrative responsibility of the assistant director of public welfare, are functionally organized into the Divisions of Family Services, Children's Services, and Protective Service; with consultants in staff development, home economics, and insurance; with an Appeals Committee, a Record Department, and a Department of Research and Statistics.

In the Division of Family Services, which prior to 1944 was known as the Division of Public Assistance, are located all services to the family—case-work services and financial assistance under the four categories, and civilian war assistance, assistance to enemy aliens, certification of children to day centers, a housing service for those whose need for new living quarters cannot be met by any other community resource, certification for care in the Baltimore City Hospitals Infirmary, and a protective service in their own homes to children who are referred by the Juvenile Court.

The average monthly public assistance awards, although consistent with national averages, are considerably below the maintenance level thought necessary by the agency. The average monthly O.A.A. grant during 1944 was \$30.09, the average maintenance level for an O.A.A. recipient was estimated as \$46.55. The average A.D.C. monthly grant was \$65.85; the maintenance budget for a mother and three children for the month of June, 1944, was estimated as \$118.65.

The Division of Children's Services, which was organized in 1941, gave direct care during the year to 715 children. Because of the difficulties in securing satisfactory foster-homes (265 were in use at the end of the year), the department has opened a small shelter home for white children and has made recommendations for a similar home for Negro children.

Intake for children in need of direct care has not been handled by the Children's Division, but by other divisions of the department and by other agencies. The *Report* states that this division of responsibility has presented two major problems:

(1) The Children's Division had no contact with the children until they were brought into court and committed. The Family Division worker who was not functionally related to placement had worked with the family and children around the necessary physical and psychological examinations prior to placement and other matters that had to be handled in preparation for placement. (2) Equally serious was the fact that the parents of the children did not

have the opportunity to apply for placement in such situations where parents were willing and wanted placement. . . .

To overcome this, there is contemplated a complete reorganization of the Children's Division. It is to be headed by a Division Supervisor. To her will be responsible two District Supervisors: one, responsible for Intake and development of temporary care, and the other responsible for the permanent foster care department of the Division.

The *Report* further states:

The whole problem of Intake for the Children's Division has been heightened by the Juvenile Court law of 1943. The 1943 Legislature abolished the old Magistrate for Juvenile Cases for Baltimore City and created a special division in the Circuit Court of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City to hear juvenile cases. Under the new law, the court upon a finding of delinquency can either hold the child on probation and plan for his adjustment, or commit the child directly to a Training School, or thirdly, commit the child to the State Department of Public Welfare. On a finding of dependency or neglect, the Court has only one alternative and that is to commit the child to the State Department of Public Welfare.

Since 1943 the department has had no control over the number of children or classification of services needed by the children which are committed to it by the court. The *Report* does not include the number of professional workers assigned to the Children's Division. It seems clear, however, that neither sufficient staff nor facilities have been developed to discharge the responsibilities of the department in relation to children. Other services to children include contracting with sectarian agencies on a per diem basis for institutional and foster-care; certification for state funds on a per diem basis for children cared for by private agencies receiving state aid; responsibilities largely undeveloped pertain to the feeble-minded child, the separation of mothers from infants less than six months old, and co-ordination with the program of the state's training schools, which since 1943 are under the general supervision of the State Department of Public Welfare.

The Department of Public Welfare is responsible for most of the medical-care services available to the sick poor of Baltimore. "Traditionally, the City Health Commissioner has been given responsibility for public preventive medicine and the City Welfare Department for curative medicine." The *Report* summarizes ten years of activities and makes excellent recommendations to improve the extent and quality

of all aspects of medical care. The medical-care program of the department includes the administration of six medical clinics; the provision of medical services to the sick poor in their own homes; hospitalization of the acutely sick in the Baltimore City Hospitals and on a per diem subsidy in private general hospitals; hospital provisions for the chronically ill, the tubercular patients, and for crippled children; a Psychopathic Division for the diagnosis and referral of mental patients to the state hospitals; and co-operation in the administration of the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program.

This *Report* reveals a deepening philosophy and sense of responsibility on the part of the director and within each of the divisions, relative to the needs of people and the methods by which these needs can best be met. The *Report* contains a wealth of material illustrative of the development of program in a public agency responsible for meeting the needs of a substantial segment of the population in a metropolitan area.

REBA E. CHOATE

*Nashville School of Social Work*

*League of Nations, Child Welfare Centre: Annual Report on Child Welfare: Geneva, 1945. Pp. 76.*

*League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions: Reports. (Official numbers C. 64. M. 64, 1944 IV; C. 65. M. 65, 1944 IV; C. 112. M. 112, 1945 IV; C. 113. M. 113, 1945 IV.) Geneva, 1944, 1945. Pp. 5, 18, 15, 5.*

These recently received publications are among the last to be issued by the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions and by the Committee on Child Welfare, which did such useful work in the years between the two great wars. The reports are all summaries prepared by the Secretariat on the basis of reports received from the co-operating countries. However, because of the war, the number of reports is very limited. The report from the United States, for example, occupies one-half of the Child Welfare volume. Other reporting countries were the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Bolivia. Together they offer good brief reports on child welfare activities during the war in those countries.

Of the reports from the Social Questions

Committee, also prepared by the Secretariat, two deal for the years 1942-43 and 1943-44 with the "Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications" and the two others deal with the "Traffic in Women and Children" for the same years. But these reports are based only on replies from some of the member countries of the British Empire. However, there are in each report tabular statements showing the position

of all the governments participating at any time with regard to the ratification and signature of the international conventions on traffic in women and children; and the convention for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications.

The Secretariat and the co-operating countries did well to carry on as best they could during the war.

## CONTRIBUTORS

### OTHER THAN CHICAGO FACULTY

W. HARDY WICKWAR, who has just completed two years of work with the Welfare Division of U.N.R.R.A., as its research officer, has been appointed to a professorship of the social sciences at Hamilton College.

WAYNE McMILLEN is commissioner and vice-chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority as well as a member of the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration.

MARY ZAHROBSKY, assistant professor in the School of Social Service Administration, has been on leave of absence for the last two years with the Illinois Child Welfare Functions Commission and with its present successor, the Illinois Child Welfare Commission.

HAZEL H. FREDERICKSEN, lecturer in social welfare in the School of Social Welfare of the University of California, was formerly with the United States Children's Bureau.

J. E. B. WRIGHT, as chairman of the London County Council Supervisory Officers' Staff Association, was in charge, under the School Feeding Service, of the feeding arrangements for children in London's dockside area at the height of the blitz.

SERGEANT LOUIS J. SCHULTZ, formerly a psychiatric social worker in the Medical Department, Army Air Forces, is now a case worker with Family Service, St. Paul, Minnesota.

NEGLEY K. TEETERS is professor of sociology in Temple University and vice-president of the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

IRENE WARD, C.B.E., was for many years a member of Parliament representing Wallsend-on-Tyne.

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